SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

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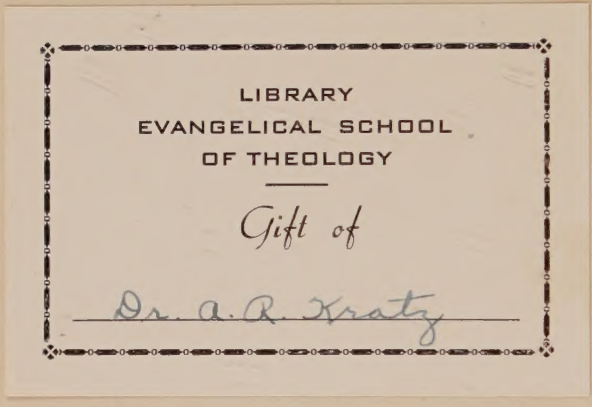

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

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SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

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TO

MY FIRST TEACHER IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

JAMES QUAYLE DEALEY

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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PREFACE

Someone has said recently that the preface gives an author the opportunity to pen the first review—and that generally a favorable one—of his own effort. That pleasant task the present writer will not undertake.

Since in the body of the book itself an attempt is made to explain the reasons for its writing and the type of reader who may find it worth while, there is, therefore, but one task left for this preface to perform; *viz.* to acknowledge the help received both from others who have studied the field before him, to those who have taught him and, lastly, to the closer group who have so valiantly assisted in the present effort.

To discharge the first obligation thoroughly would be impossible. Throughout the book there has been an attempt to acknowledge particular bits of help while avoiding copious footnotes. The reference readings at the end of each chapter indicate some of the many writers from whom ideas have been freely and gratefully taken. Where due credit has not been given, as must almost of necessity be the case in a book of this kind, the writer feels sure that those to whom credit is due will realize that the reasons for the omission lie not in any desire to take credit for what is not my own but because the ideas have become so thoroughly accepted that one almost forgets with whom they originated. Many such, too, come from fellow-workers who have spent years of thought and effort in the field of *Social Adjustment,* and these the writer believes will pardon the unintentional plagarism.

There are three former teachers of mine, who, while they have had no direct connection with this book, had a great deal to do with creating the point of view which made it possible. I wish herewith to record my appreciation of the inspiration and help which I was fortunate enough to receive in the college class-room under Professor J. Q. Dealey, and in the field of social work from Miss E. Frances O'Neil, at that time with the Providence Society for Organizing Charity and from Dr. C. C. Carstens then of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Fortunate indeed is the beginner in sociology or social work who has such direction and assistance.

And now the merest word of thanks for those who, while they assume no responsibility for the ideas here expressed, have helped me directly in writing the book. I use the term "merest word" advisedly, comparing my thanks with their efforts. Among many who might

be named, two stand out. I refer to Professor Harry Elmer Barnes of Smith College, whose cooperation, council and encouragement have been continuous from the very beginning—indeed I might say before the beginning, as it is largely at his suggestion that the task was undertaken. And lastly to my wife, Elisabeth Anthony Dexter. This book is preeminently a product of "domestic industry." Mrs. Dexter has worked over every page until the finished product is quite as much hers as mine. Greater love hath no wife than this, not only to live with her husband while he is writing a book, but to read the manuscript when it is finished.

ROBERT C. DEXTER.

Saratoga Springs,
New York.

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SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

CHAPTER I

THE WHY AND THE WHEREFORE

"Of making many books there is no end,"—thus said the wise man long ago. This statement, somewhat prematurely issued, it would seem, becomes more bewilderingly true every year, and the situation now calls for an apology, or at least an explanation, from every writer at whose behest more stalwart trees are cut down and transformed into paper.

Why, then, was this book written, and for whom is it intended? To begin with a few negatives: *Social Adjustment* was not written primarily for professional social workers or for advanced students in the field of applied sociology. In connection with Parsons' *An Introduction to Modern Social Problems,* which furnishes the historical and philosophical background, it is hoped, however, that even to this specialized group it may be of some service, as giving a bird's-eye view of the whole field; and in particular the author has tried to furnish bibliographies of each subject discussed which should be of use in advanced study.

Still less does this book pretend to be a contribution to theoretical sociology. No treatment of social problems is possible without a theoretic basis, and various social theories will undoubtedly obtrude themselves; but the writer's aim is mainly descriptive and practical. He has neither the learning nor the inclination to advance a particular or even a synthetic theory of society. Perhaps the nearest that he comes to it is a conviction that there is no royal road to Utopia. The Chinese have a proverb that it is impossible to hang a jellyfish on a nail, and it seems equally difficult to hang society on one theory. The seekers after a royal road may regard the treatment of specific maladjustments as futile tinkering, and artists may join with them in ridiculing a "one step forward and two steps back" policy. Nevertheless, it was the cautious Fabius who saved Rome. Those people who would smash this sorry scheme of things entire have never explained how humanity could be kept alive while their better scheme was getting ready to operate. "Here a little and there a little" is a pedestrian sort of motto, but perhaps it will serve.

Uncompromising theorists have already been frightened away,—but not all students of social theory are by any means in that class.

Indeed, there are indications that the wide rift which in the past has unfortunately separated the social theorist from the social worker is being closed. If so, we may look for far more effective thinking on the one side, and for saner action on the other. Practice cannot go ahead successfully without theory, and theory divorced from practice is sterile. Although this book was not written definitely for social theorists, then, it may be that they can get something from a statement of the problems of society, and the successes and failures of the attempts so far made to meet them.

Reason for the Failure of Social Adjustment.—Perhaps the best way to approach the group for whom this book was primarily written is to tell why it has been written at all. As a result of over ten years' active participation in practical social work, the author became convinced that although the social worker had a great contribution which he could make to social understanding, he was not making that contribution adequately. Much may be said in extenuation of this partial failure; for instance, that social work is a new profession with little in the way of standards or, until recently, of training; and further that the problems which the social worker sets himself to solve are old and exceedingly complicated. Nevertheless, these did not seem to be the main causes of failure. The principal reason why, with its increasingly effective technique and more adequately trained personnel, social work and social research are still far from achieving the success which seems open to them, appears to the writer to be the ignorance and indifference of the general public, and in particular of the leaders of public opinion.

It is not the difficulties with his clients or the arduous nature of the problem which discourages and at times utterly disheartens the social worker or the research expert; it is the absolute indifference, or, even worse, the total misunderstanding, of well-intentioned and intelligent people regarding the tasks to be undertaken. These are not the men in the street, either; but the leaders in the community and the nation—statesmen, physicians, lawyers, teachers, captains of industry and philanthropists, most of them today college graduates. Yet they rarely have an adequate knowledge of society, its organization, history, and problems. It is primarily for these men and women that this book is written. They are not the professionals in the field, but they constitute the group of community leaders to whom the small number of professionals must look for assistance, coöperation, and backing. If through a reading of the pages that follow some of these men and women, and particularly the younger people now in our schools and colleges who will some day fill the positions which their elders have vacated, can get some idea of the extent of the various social problems and the methods of adjustment that have been and may be used to

deal with them, the author will be more than satisfied—and the trees will not have been cut down in vain.

The Business Man and Social Adjustment.—The typical American male is the man of business, a trader or a manufacturer, a seller or a buyer. The studies recently made of college graduating classes show that the great majority intend to enter business in one capacity or another. We hear much talk about business men in politics, business methods in the church, etc., and it must be admitted that by and large the most important figures in modern American communities are the business men. And the number of business women is growing rapidly.

Such being the case, business men and women cannot escape close and definite relationship with social problems and social adjustments. With many, their own business presents a social problem; the manufacturer is vitally concerned with questions of health, unemployment, wages, immigration, old age pensions—in fact, with almost every aspect of life that is discussed in the following pages. He is not infrequently well trained in the technique of his business, and he knows his economics and his finance; but too often not only has he never studied the other social sciences, but he has no knowledge of the sources from which he may secure information. Hence he takes over his opinions on social reconstruction second-hand from the Rotary speaker, the Chamber of Commerce, or the club.

But it is not only the industrialist who is called on to deal with social problems. The banker is concerned with rural credits, and hence with rural community organization; the retailer with satisfactory home life and the right sort of expenditure, and above all with adequate incomes for his customers.

The business man's relationship does not end, however, with his business dealings. In common with the lawyer, the minister, the doctor, and the teacher, he is called on to advise and to assist in revising the social program of his community, and he is expected to support the program financially. It is very largely the reaction of the business man which determines the policy of the social agency, and his attitude toward taxation which makes it possible for the city, state, or nation to fulfill—or neglect—its social responsibilities. The successful business man is expected to assume leadership in social matters, and that leadership is either progressive or reactionary, depending on the breadth of vision which he possesses.

Naturally it is not necessary that the business man should know as much about social conditions as he does about his own factory or bank or store, but he should have a general knowledge both of the background and of the mechanisms of society.

The Woman in the Home.—The typical American woman is still the

wife and mother, but her sphere of service has widened. More and more, responsibilities which used to be her very own have become the community's. Originally she herself could see that her children were protected—that their food was pure, and that their shelter was adequate. With the growth of the city and the nation these protective functions have been largely handed over to governmental agencies, and since the Industrial Revolution the preparation of food and clothing and the provision of housing has become a social task. But the mother's obligation is still the same:

> She is today the one most clearly required . . . to summon the social forces to lessen or abolish the dangers to which children are exposed. The action of the solitary primitive mother fighting off the despoiler of her child does not much resemble the banding together of modern women by the hundreds and by the thousands to abolish typhoid fever in some city where it has become endemic through the greed of manufacturers who pollute the water supply. It is, however, the same spirit in both.[1]

The mother cannot fulfill this still necessary function without some understanding of social laws and social forces. She too need not become an expert, but her spirit of devotion must be intelligently directed if it is to be effective. And on the whole it must be said that the women realize the seriousness of their task. But they need more training. We have come to realize that there is a place for home economics in the education of women, but far more important, at least for those who will be leaders, is an elementary knowledge of the social sciences.

Women, even more than men, are constantly being called on to head new organizations, and to devote time and energy to the perpetuation of social agencies of one kind or another. For this purpose they need information, and our colleges are not fulfilling their function if they turn out graduates inadequately informed.

The Statesman and Political Leader.—It is unnecessary to stress the fact that the statesman or publicist requires a knowledge of social conditions. With the growth of population and the gradual urbanization of life, problems of social policy become increasingly imperative. Economics and political strategy are still paramount, but more and more our governmental departments are being called on to administer undertakings of vital social concern and to pass legislation of fundamental social interest. The recent Opium Conference and the League of Nations' humanitarian activities are cases in point in the field of international affairs, and the Federal Children's Bureau and widows' pensions in national and state concerns. Whatever one may think of socialism, state socialization is the order of the day the world over, and

[1] Spencer, Mrs. A. G., *The Family and Its Members,* Philadelphia, 1923, p. 50.

its direction lies in the hands of the statesmen and politicians. That such guidance is so often faulty is due more frequently to ignorance than to any failure in good intent.

The Lawyer.—The lawyer has much the same responsibilities as the business man in community leadership, and as the statesman in a somewhat more limited field. In respect to crime and penology, however, he is especially important. Some of our best law schools are introducing courses in the social sciences, but too many content themselves with technique alone. For the much needed socialization of the law we must look to the lawyers; and may increasing social knowledge hasten it!

The Clergyman.—Long before the days of the professional social worker, and even yet to a degree known only to themselves, ministers and priests have been called upon to make individual adjustments to social conditions. With the growth of social work some of the burdens have gradually been shifted to the specialist, but many of them never can be so shifted, nor would it be desirable that they should be. In order to give good advice and effective assistance, the clergyman should possess a considerable knowledge of social laws and the conditions of social life. In earlier times when life was comparatively simple and unspecialized, this knowledge came quite satisfactorily from experience, but today the task is more difficult. Even in the large city where there is an abundance of social agencies, the clergyman needs to know something of the field of each, in order that at least he can seek assistance in the proper quarter.

In addition to his function as a case-worker, the clergyman is looked to for leadership in community movements. His parishioners come to him for advice as to their charitable gifts, and from the pulpit and in private conversation he does much to direct the thinking and practical service of his people along social lines. For these functions, too, the minister needs at least a general familiarity with social undertakings.

For this task theological training has hitherto prepared men very inadequately. At the present moment a growing movement is on foot to put the social sciences, and particularly applied sociology, into the seminary curriculum. A far more thorough training in psychology than is generally provided either in the college or in the seminary, is also invaluable for the minister. Sociology and psychology, so it seems to the writer, are two of the most effective tools which the true minister can possess.

The Medical Profession.—Both doctor and nurse are beginning to realize very definitely that physical ills are due quite as much to social conditions as to physical causes, and that their cure and prevention lie in social adjustment. Consequently in the training of

both physicians and nurses more and more emphasis is being placed on a knowledge of social problems and social agencies. Probably this tendency is further advanced with nurses than with physicians; perhaps because the canons of the profession have been less strictly laid down and hence are more elastic. Nevertheless, either in the medical school or in pre-medical training, the progressive leaders of the profession are insisting that physicians should come into contact with the social sciences, and in particular should master social as well as physical pathology.

In the chapter dealing with the social problems centering about ill-health, many of the reasons for this insistence will be made clear, but throughout any discussion of social problems there runs a double thread of difficulty. Physical illness and social maladjustments are but the obverse and reverse of the same obstacle. Particularly are prevention and public health highly socialized problems. If the physician or nurse does not understand what the social worker or the social agency is attempting to do, or the social worker loses contact with the advances in medicine and public health, the prospects of victory are greatly lessened.

The Educator.—Progress is largely a matter of education; this applies to progress in dealing with our social ills as in every other field. Teachers are community leaders, and that is reason enough why they should be well informed as to social problems.

In the public school system particularly, the teacher has definite social responsibilities. The public school is a cross-section of the community, and the teacher probably comes in closer touch with more individual cases of social maladjustment, especially in the earlier and more curable stages, than does any other person, not excluding the social worker or the minister. Hence the necessity of the teacher's knowing something of the outstanding types of maladjustment and the methods used to overcome them. The class-room teacher in these days of specialization cannot be a social worker too, but she can render assistance in many cases where only a comparatively slight effort is needed, and she can coöperate with the social worker in the vast majority of other more serious problems. In spite of the fact that only within very recent years sociology has been recognized in the normal schools, and in teacher training courses in college, it has been from the overworked members of the teaching profession that the social worker has generally received his greatest assistance.

More and more teachers and educational executives are realizing the social aspects of their task. Professor Groves in his recent book, *Social Problems and Education,* puts the situation concretely:

Teachers are beginning to see their school problem against the background of the larger social situation. They seek a definite understanding of the social problems that now vex society and hamper the good development of young life. They especially need to realize that there can be no divorcement between the life of the school and that of the community, since they are in constant reciprocal relation. The very existence of present social problems is a challenge to education, since faulty education is mostly responsible for them and their decrease can come only as a result of a more wholesome and efficient use of the opportunity the schools provide to direct social progress.[2]

With such a field it is no wonder that the leaders of the teaching profession feel strongly that much more should be done to train future teachers, not only in pedagogy, but in a knowledge of the society in which their pupils live. A knowledge of social backgrounds is perhaps the most essential, but an understanding of applied fields is also important. Our schools can become our most effective agencies for social adjustment, but they cannot fulfill this function adequately, no matter how much we modify their architecture or add visiting teachers, school nurses, psychologists, etc., unless our teachers themselves are socially minded. It is as true in the big city today as it was in the Williams College of Mark Hopkins' time, that the teacher makes the school.

The Colleges and Social Adjustment.—One might go on indefinitely, pointing out the absolute necessity to various professional and social groups of some knowledge of the forces tending to produce social maladjustment, and their correctives and preventives; but the cases cited above perhaps illustrate the point sufficiently.

In general any position of community leadership in modern society requires to a greater or less degree an acquaintance with these phenomena. The question then arises as to where such knowledge shall be acquired. Since under the present organization in this country the vast majority of leaders in business and the professions receive the benefits of a college education, it would seem as though the college, which by its degree hall-marks its graduates as potential leaders, has a clear-cut obligation to see that they are fitted for leadership. Latin in the Middle Ages was absolutely essential for leadership; it was the language of the learned; hence the medieval schools insisted on thorough training in Latin. In a period of flux and social change such as our own, it seems that at least a rudimentary knowledge of social origins and social laws, coupled with a practical comprehension of the results of social maladjustment and the efforts being made to overcome them, is just as essential to the graduate of the present-day college or university. Some of these phenomena might well be

[2] Groves, E. R., *Social Problems and Education,* New York, 1925, p. iii.

studied in the high school or even in the grades, because there the majority can be reached; but certainly the college ought not to allow anyone to go out into the world where because he is a college graduate, he will be expected to assume positions of direction, without some knowledge of the forces which he will be called on to direct.

It is above all for the undergraduates of our colleges and normal schools, who must some day assume the tasks of social adjustment, that this book is written. They will not have to wait long before leadership is thrust upon them; many of them will be called on in rural or city schools, in counting houses and offices, in police courts and pastor's studies, to deal with some of the problems here presented. Some of them, no doubt, will grapple with these problems as professional social workers; but all will have the opportunity to make an invaluable contribution to Social Adjustment.

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CHAPTER II

POVERTY

Its History and Significance

The Bible tells us that the poor are always with us. Other social maladjustments are quite as serious as those connected with poverty, and require quite as careful consideration, yet there is little question that lack of food, clothing, shelter, or recognition—actual or relative, present or potential—which is the essence of poverty, forms the greatest common denominator of social ills. Hence it is desirable to spend some time in tracing the history of poverty, its meaning to the poor and to others, its extent in modern society, and finally the causes that to a greater or less degree lie back of the bulk of present-day want. This will be followed by a hasty summary of the attempts to deal with the problem of poverty through relief both in England and America, before taking up the specialized groups of the poor and maladjusted.

Poverty in Primitive Society.—Primitive poverty did not carry the outward manifestations by which modern poverty is identified. Undernourishment, exposure to the elements, and illness due to either or both of these causes, may be universal conditions in early society, but they are not confined to the poor. As soon as society emerges from the most primitive state, however, the beginnings of the modern gradations from the poor to the rich may be noted. While the socialistic contention that capital is the root of all social ills cannot be accepted, there is no question that historically, as Marx carefully points out, the beginnings of capital and of poverty were synonymous. As soon as methods of preserving food arise—the drying of grain and of meat, and the domestication of cattle—the man who has food and cattle is differentiated from the man who has not. The owner of large flocks and herds is rich; the widow with her one ewe lamb is poor; and the essential difference between them is in the ownership of capital.

So much for the theoretic basis. Apparently these conditions originated in primitive society, and the poor there had much in common with the poor in the twentieth-century industrial civilization. They were uncertain as to their food supply; there were times when they starved, although their wealthier neighbors were living in plenty; and they were sick more often than their kinsmen. In barbarian society, however, the survival of the earlier communistic feeling—the ties of

clan and family—served largely to mitigate these differences. Goods were shared on the basis of charity, and the sense of kinship transcended economic distinctions.

But the earlier tradition alone was not sufficient to meet all needs. Travel brought strangers into the kinship group. Even more important were the large numbers of the conquered. Some of them, it is true, were more or less adopted into the family as slaves, but others remained in varying positions scattered among the ruling nation. Just why barbarian society developed the feeling of responsibility for the poor is a problem that must be left to the psychologist and the philosopher; here it is sufficient to notice that they had various methods of caring for the less fortunate. From time to time, the poor were taken into families of their better-off neighbors in order to prevent suffering. Marriage also in some barbarian societies was a form of charity. The widow particularly was recognized as being in need, and in groups where she was not commanded to die with her husband, she was generally provided for. The custom that made it necessary for her to raise children to venerate her husband's ancestors was partly responsible for this relief, but the charitable factor should not be overlooked. This element in matrimony has lasted from barbarian days to our own time, but with the growing economic independence of women it will, among other survivals, become extinct.

Wealth and poverty in the primitive world were to a very large extent dependent on physical strength, since the control of capital was chiefly in flocks and herds, and the protection against invaders demanded strength above all else. Consequently, in barbarian society even more than today, it was the women and children who especially suffered from poverty.

Poverty in the Ancient World.—The Bible and the classics respectively are our best authorities for social life in the Ancient World. The Jews were essentially a pastoral people, with the old tribal organizations still very strong. Slavery, however, was a permanent factor in all community life, and was apparently often used as an amelioration for poverty. Conquered peoples are represented throughout the Old Testament as being in need, and comparatively early we find mention of beggars and lepers, and the blind. The leper was definitely placed among the dependent poor, and the later prophets repeatedly enjoined charity toward the lepers and the blind. Begging was apparently quite as recognized a feature of eastern life in Bible times as it is today.

Mosaic law commanded honor to father and mother, and care of them in their old age, and the Talmud and other Jewish writings are full of examples stressing the obligations toward parents.

In New Testament times the poor had become a recognized class

in Jewish society, and the Christian church was early obliged to provide definite organizations for the relief of widows, and funds were raised throughout the western world for the "poor at Jerusalem."

The earliest Greek legends show a society which recognized the man of wealth at one extreme, and the beggar at the other. Ulysses, for example, came to Ithaca as a beggar, wearing the wallet enjoined by custom. The constant warfare of the time created another class still familiar, the old broken soldier, and was responsible for a great deal of other poverty. Vineyards, the result of fifty or a hundred years of patient labor, were rooted up much as they were in the last war. The people who had depended on them, or who lived in the cities which had been "sown with salt," were either captured or reduced to permanent poverty.

Slaves, in the main, could not be counted among the poor. They were generally provided with sufficient food and clothing and, on the whole, well taken care of. There were, however, exceptions. Even in Athens some slaves—generally the less tractable—were consigned to the mines, and if they were not killed by accident, were early worn out by hard work. Others suffered similar fate in the galleys. Maimed and wounded men were the recognized poverty-stricken class of the Greek cities.

There are also records of fatherless children, in general of citizens, who constituted a social problem. The children of citizens who had lost their lives in the service of the state were provided for out of state funds, and the family or relatives generally looked after the number among their own people.

In the days of Rome's greatness, the growth of capital vastly increased the number of the poor. Early political controversies between the patricians and plebeians were largely the rich against the poor. The policy of "bread and circus," which became permanent in the Empire, was a concession to the numerical importance of the poor among the Roman citizens. Yet in addition there developed a genuine charitable system, especially in respect to children. We are accustomed to think of charity as essentially Christian, but there were societies during the Roman Empire which made a distinctly modern attempt at providing for the needs of children of the poor. Large sums of money were left by individuals and given to incorporated fraternities for charitable purposes, which lasted until the breakdown of the Roman Empire.

Christian Charity.—Early Christianity began among the poor. It was they who listened to the message of Jesus and, on the whole, who formed the nuclei of the various congregations scattered throughout Asia Minor and Europe. The fact that Christianity helped care for the oppressed, and especially that it offered compensation in the

next world for the woes of this, accounted largely for its marvelous growth. Besides almsgiving, which it early developed, it introduced a softer attitude into the rather rigid system of the Ancient World. Christianity, with its assumption of arbitrary divinity, and especially its belief in compensation, helped to make poverty respectable. After it had become an established religion it still encouraged and indeed enjoined charity as one of the ways by which a rich man might enter the gates of Heaven.

Poverty in the Dark Ages.—With the barbarian invasions the number of the poor was vastly increased. It is partly to the desire to escape from this frightful condition of poverty that we may trace the beginnings of the feudal system. The "precarium" was literally the prayer of the poor, distressed person to be taken under the protection of a stronger man. In return for the protection received, he was obliged to render economic and military service. While the dependent did not entirely lose his freedom, he was the forerunner of the medieval serf.

Another way of escape was through the religious communities, which became increasingly numerous, as with the conversion of the barbarians, their protection was extended to religious bodies. The monasteries and nunneries, and even the hermit's cell, were often places of refuge for the poor and oppressed. Not only did individuals embrace the religious life in order to be assured of a minimum of food and clothing, but the monasteries very early developed a poor relief system, which grew until during the later Middle Ages the monks were practically the sole almoners of Western Europe.

Medieval Poverty.—Poverty in the Middle Ages was a vastly different problem from the poverty of the twentieth century. In both periods, it implies inadequate food and improper housing, but many of the calamities of modern poverty were then lacking. Many things we would today consider necessary, money then could not buy—for instance, first-rate medical care. Then too, social status did not depend to the same extent on income as it does today; it was much more an incident of birth. Indeed the wealthier people were in some respects less sure of their position than the poor, whom wars and taxes often disturbed very little. Moreover, since there was no common belief in equality, the less fortunate were much more contented with "that lot to which it had pleased God to call them."

The bulk of the poor in the Middle Ages were serfs, living in the country, and certain of a minimum of food and shelter. The poor in the cities were not so fortunate. The interminable wars left an aftermath of old soldiers, and disease, particularly following the Crusades, was rampant. In Western Europe the developing religious systems played a most important part in relieving the resultant poverty. Not

only did the monasteries care for large numbers of poor, but the church urged individuals to establish foundations called chantries, which besides providing for the support of priests to pray for the donor's salvation after death also furnished considerable sums to be used in charitable relief. Many of these chantries gave out a specified quantity of bread a day to those who attended the mass. In this way they provided a definite and fairly permanent form of poor relief. The chantries were mainly a town institution; in the small villages and in the country there was little need for such organizations.

Although there was probably less poverty in the Middle Ages than there is now, unquestionably there was enough to form a fairly conspicuous feature of community life. The writer of *Piers Plowman,* in 1488, devotes a good deal of attention to the various classifications of the poor. He speaks of the vagabonds and the wandering men and women, the prototype of the hobo, the beggars and the lunatics, "the poor in pits and in caves." His statement, "we go hungry in order to dress respectably," has a distinctly modern sound.

Before *Piers Plowman* was written, however, the Black Death had made its way over England, and had changed the whole economic system. Hundreds of lords and nobles and their entire families were wiped out; thousands of fathers and mothers were killed and their children left orphans. Even the church charities were affected by the wholesale deaths among the clergy.

With the lords and nobles gone, there was a tremendous demand from the cities for labor. Many of the serfs broke the ties that bound them to the soil, and made for the towns. Then too, the scarcity of labor in the country led to the necessity of small farming instead of extensive agriculture as under the feudal system.

A later effect of the development of the small farm was the enclosure. This began in the fifteenth century, and meant the taking over of large areas of land, which had been chiefly devoted to agriculture, and parts of which had been regarded as common property of the community, and turning it into sheep pastures. This confiscation of the village "common land" deprived many people of a part of their means of subsistence, and the change from farming to sheep raising greatly cut down the demand for hired laborers. This meant an increasingly large number of lawless men and vagabonds. Following the enclosures came the Reformation with the abolition of monasteries and chantries. Thus at a time when there was an unusual amount of poverty the customary source of relief was cut off, and for the first time the state found it necessary to deal with the situation. The Elizabethan Poor Laws, which will be discussed later, were the result.

It was fortunate for England, and for Western Europe in general,

that the discovery and settlement of America followed fast on the Reformation. The religious wars had reduced many to poverty; in England the process of enclosures continued until late in the eighteenth century, thus driving many out of the country districts. Industries had not yet developed to any great extent, and consequently there was a surplus population. It was very largely this surplus which settled the American colonies.

The growth of Protestantism definitely influenced the treatment of poverty. On the whole, the idea grew up that the poor were poor because of their own sins. Along with this conviction went a lessening of the belief that alms-giving in this world was the "open sesame" to the next. The growth of a strong middle class, and its gradual acquisition of economic and then political power, was largely responsible for this attitude.

The Industrial Revolution and the Growth of Poverty.—The significance of the Industrial Revolution is apparent throughout every aspect of society, but nowhere did this remarkable change have more effect than in the field of social problems, particularly in the creation and development of a new and vastly greater class of dependents.

The gradual abolition of handicraft industries, the large numbers of persons employed in factories under rigid discipline, the fact that the workers could not own their tools but were dependent on the capitalist, all these combined to make the worker who was homeless, landless, toolless, and at any moment might be jobless, a person without security or status. *The worker's lack of control over his own destiny is the essence of modern poverty.* It is not only infinitely greater in extent, but far more socially dangerous, than anything which the older world knew. By and large it might be said that the poor of the world before the Industrial Revolution were the least well endowed by Nature. The Industrial Revolution, with the advantages which it gave to mechanical and executive ability, has penalized other types. Time has perhaps adjusted the situation to some extent, but there is still a larger premium placed on certain specialized types of ability than natural selection would call for.

The significance of *security* and of *status* cannot be over-estimated in any consideration, not only of poverty, but of all social problems. The fact is that in modern industrial civilization there are thousands of individuals who do not feel safe, who are dependent on other and distant individuals or forces for their subsistence, who may at any moment lose their means of livelihood, and who are constantly facing a future which may bring suffering and, equally important, the loss of status. This last factor particularly is one in which modern poverty contrasts with earlier forms. Perhaps one explanation of the growth of the Labor Union has been the desire for status on the part

of the worker, and certainly the large development of fraternal organizations among working people is an attempt to create it where otherwise it would not exist.

It is not necessary to dwell in detail on the great factors in the growth of poverty following the Industrial Revolution. At first it seemed as if gradually poverty would be reduced by the change; many workers as well as capitalists were far more prosperous than ever before. But this was not permanent. The continued invention of more simplified forms of machinery made work possible for women and small children, and their employment brought a reduction of wages to a level below that of subsistence. Then the growth of the manufacturing town, with its inadequate and unsanitary housing, led to disease, always a breeder of poverty. Child labor also was a breeder of poverty, for it stunted the child's development and hence lessened his adult earning capacity. Again, the enormous profits made by the early entrepreneurs encouraged over-production, and there were the cycles of unemployment. Following the Industrial Revolution came all the factors that underlie modern poverty: migration, improper housing, disease, over-production, frequent unemployment, impersonal administration, and exploitation. Above them all is the worker's permeating sense of insecurity, the more or less conscious feeling that he does not count in the general scheme of things, that he is the man whom God forgot.

One of the most important changes that has come over the world since the Industrial Revolution is in its attitude toward poverty and misfortune generally. During the Middle Ages poverty was not a disgrace even though it involved physical suffering. Indeed it was accounted a blessing, as it was supposed to bring spiritual compensations either in this world or in the next. At present, although the actual suffering may be less, poverty is a disgrace with no recognized compensation.

Poverty in the Modern World.—In this day, when one of the world's great nations is definitely based on a philosophy which holds that only the proletariat—the lowest economic class in the community—is fit to govern, it becomes increasingly necessary for nations to know just who are the proletarians, and how many of them there are. We have had the poor with us, as we have seen, for thousands of years, and much religious and humanitarian effort has been directed to improving their lot; and yet today no one knows just how many people live in poverty, and it is difficult to define exactly what poverty is.

The Century Dictionary defines poverty as "need or scarcity of means of subsistence"; and yet any acquaintance with society convinces one that such a definition only inadequately describes the situa-

tion. *Poverty consists in the individual's inability to provide for himself and his dependents the food, clothing, and shelter expected by the economic and social class to which he belongs.* The term poverty is used very loosely in public discussion, largely because it is so much a matter of comparison. The college professor is unquestionably poor in contrast with his neighbor the "realtor," but the latter in turn speaks of himself as a poor man in comparison with the industrial magnate, and all alike are looked on as wealthy by the aged odd-job man who tends their furnaces.

Poverty, dependence, and pauperism are all terms used to describe the condition of the poor, and in the public mind are much confused. The vast majority of the poor are neither paupers nor dependents. In general a pauper is one who "depends on someone else (than himself) or his natural supporter for his sustenance either in whole or in part," [1] while a dependent may or may not be in poverty at all. For instance, children and aged relatives, sick and injured members of the normal family group, are almost always temporary or permanent dependents.

Poverty is, however, a far more generalized term than either pauperism or dependency. Poets and essayists, as well as the more sober social scientists, have attempted to describe it. Thomas Carlyle's vivid statement that to be poor is

"to live miserable we know not why; to work sore and yet gain nothing; to be heart-worn, weary, yet isolated" [2]

is, like most of Carlyle, moving and yet scarcely accurate. Many of the poor are neither miserable nor heart-worn nor weary, and certainly not isolated. Another literary man, William Dean Howells, comes much nearer to the truth when he says that:

"poverty is not the lack of things; it is the fear and dread of want." [3]

What are the obvious criteria of poverty? On the whole they are apparent from the definition, and are still more apparent to anyone who visits the working-class quarters of our cities or towns, or some of the barren tenant-racked countrysides that disfigure portions of America. The poverty of the upper classes is not so apparent, but is none the less real. Much-worn clothing, a limited menu, and an inadequate equipment of the tools of his trade, books, magazines, and general cultural advantages, are the stigmata of poverty in the pro-

[1] Gillin, J. L., *Poverty and Dependency*, New York, p. 21.
[2] Carlyle, *Past and Present*, p. 203.
[3] Hunter, *Poverty*, New York, p. 1.

fessional class. In general, however, improper housing, congestion, lack of privacy, frequent illness, with an abnormal incidence of infant mortality and such social diseases as tuberculosis, limited schooling and consequent employment in the more disagreeable and lower-paid industries, are evidence that the poverty-line is reached. Put in a nutshell, *inadequate income* and a consequent *lowered standard of living* constitute poverty.

Standard of Living.—It would be futile for anyone not a professional statistician, home-economist, and social-worker combined to attempt to work out a standard of living which would be so accurate that all who fell beneath it would *ipso facto* be below the poverty-line. It is especially difficult, too, to express a standard in terms of money for a country as varied as the United States. But for the purpose of finding out, even approximately, what poverty is and particularly the number of those who are in poverty, that is what must be attempted. It is not surprising, therefore, that while valuable studies have been made, by both home-economists and statisticians, there is not yet a general acceptance of their findings. At the same time the conclusions at which they arrive, taken for different communities at different times and under different circumstances, when compared and corrected, have enough points of similarity to make them of value. At any rate they are all we have to work with.

The standard of living has been well expressed in other than money terms for the laboring classes in England by the economist Alfred Marshall, as follows:

> "The necessaries for the efficiency of an ordinary . . . laborer and his family in England in this generation, may be said to consist of a well-drained dwelling with several rooms, warm clothing, with some changes of underclothing, pure water, a plentiful supply of cereal food, with a moderate allowance of meat and milk, and a little tea, etc., some education and some recreation, and lastly sufficient freedom for his wife from other work to enable her to perform properly her maternal and her household duties" [4]

There might be minor additions when applied to the similar class in this country, but on the whole Professor Marshall's standard is a reasonable one, and it is the finding of a monetary equivalent for it that has engaged the attention of American students.

A study fairly representative of conditions in our larger cities is that made by the Municipal Research Bureau of Philadelphia in 1919 to ascertain a wage-standard for city laborers.[5] This report, based on a careful study of 260 families during the autumn of 1918, states

[4] Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, p. 121.

[5] Beyer, Davis, and Thwing, *Workmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia*, New York, 1919.

that a typical family, man, wife, and boy aged 13, girl 10, and boy 6, must have an income of $1636.79 a year, or $5.45 per working day, to maintain a "fair standard of living." [6] Chapin's budget, the classical example for the United States, made in 1907, called for $906.70. Taking Chapin's standard, however, and applying the prices current at the time of their inquiry, the Philadelphia investigators found that the same amount of food, clothing, and shelter would cost $1625.[7] The National War Labor Board reported in June, 1918, that "the cost of 'minimum comfort' for a family of five in the large eastern cities was $1760 per year." [8]

The Bureau of Applied Economics which made a careful report for the Interchurch World Movement in 1919, taking The War Labor Board's figures for 1918 as a basis, and adding thereto the increased cost of the same goods in the following year, estimated the minimum of comfort standard at $2024 a year. With proper modifications for fluctuations in retail prices it will be safe to adopt $1600–2000 as a minimum standard for the "typical" family.

While such statistical estimates are at best only suggestions, and while the absolutely "typical" is hard to find, they serve to provide something to work on. At the same time many families are poor even with an adequate income, while others are not in poverty even with an income somewhat below the standard.

Poverty and Public Poor Relief.—Another method of arriving at the extent of poverty would be to take a census of all who are in receipt of public or private relief. Aside from the colossal nature of the task, it would, generally speaking, give a census only of the paupers, not of the poor. In this respect, the standard of living method is preferable. At the same time an accurate census of the paupers would be desirable. The United States Census gives an estimate of the number of almshouse inmates, criminals, etc., which is of considerable value, and many states and cities have attempted such compilations with varying success.

Estimate of Poverty.—Estimates made by competent students are of some use, but again they vary so much that the reader is left to make his own interpretation. Nearing, Hunter, and Parmelee, all of whom have a socialistic bent, place the estimates of dependence much higher than conservative writers such as Ely, Wright, and Kellogg. Parmelee, for instance, estimates that of the families supported by one wage-earner, "at least one-half and probably more, . . . are in a state of poverty." [9] It must be borne in mind, however, that only

[6] Ibid. p. 5.
[7] Ibid. p. 6.
[8] Ibid. p. 7.
[9] Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*, New York, 1916, p. 93.

about one-half of the families in this country are in the wage-earning class, and that of that number a very considerable proportion have more than one wage-earner in the family. If one were to strike an average of the various estimates, it would seem to be the consensus of opinion that at least 10 per cent of the population of the United States, year in and year out, are subsisting on the barest margin of income over the minimum standard, with no allowance for savings or for sudden emergencies.

Another possible method, which so far has not been much used, would be to ascertain the number of individuals or families registered in the Social Service Exchanges of those towns or cities in which such institutions had developed so as to embrace a fairly complete registration of charitable agencies. Such a list would not be open to the criticism that it included only the pauper class, because many individuals and families who were in other types of difficulty would be registered. At the same time the vast majority of the families would never have come to the attention of social agencies at all if they had been safely above the poverty line.

Still another method which, so far as the writer knows, has not yet been used, is possible in countries which have an income tax. If it were possible to secure the actual number of families who file an income tax return, the residue could almost certainly be classified as not much above the poverty-line. The present tax law in the United States calls for the filing of a return by every individual whose personal income exceeds $1000, or for every family with an income of $2500 or more. If figures were not available for the entire United States, those for specific states would be valuable. Of course, the results would not be entirely accurate, but they would give a more definite figure than anything we have now available.

The Sample Method.—The method which, so far, has given the most nearly reliable results is the sample method; in a single community intensive studies have been made of the conditions of life and the income of each resident. The pioneer study was Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People of London.* Mr. Booth devoted sixteen years and a large part of his fortune to the investigation of the family life of wage-earners in selected sections of London. A similar study, appearing in 1901, was made by B. S. Rowntree of 11,560 families in York. More recently in 1912-13 Bowley and Burnett-Hurst in *Livelihood and Poverty* published similar studies made in the four English industrial communities of Northampton, Warrington, Reading, and Stanley. The results of these three studies, made at different times, by different investigators, and in different parts of England, show a remarkable agreement, as follows:

Investigator	*Per Cent in Poverty*
Booth	30.7
Rowntree	27.84
Bowley & Burnett-Hurst	32.

It must be borne in mind that these studies are from industrial or densely populated urban communities, which would naturally show the largest percentage of poverty. Making all due allowance for this fact, but also bearing in mind that England is much more largely industrialized and urbanized than the United States, an estimate of one-fourth of the population of England as below the poverty-line seems reasonable. The tremendous number of families receiving unemployment and other government "doles" in the years since the War would indicate that such an estimate comes very close to the facts. This condition is serious for Great Britain, and while our own figures are by no means as high, as would be expected in a comparatively new country, the fact that in the two wealthiest and in many respects most progressive countries in the world a section of the population, ranging from one-tenth to one-quarter, is constantly below the poverty-line, is of the utmost seriousness.

In general the other countries of Europe, with the possible exceptions of France and Scandinavia, resemble England, while in countries such as Russia, even with a vastly lower standard, the percentage of poverty is far greater. It is impossible even to guess at the extent of poverty in the savage communities of Africa, and parts of Asia, or among the aborigines of the Americas, but there is no question that absolute poverty is far more common in the densely populated eastern countries such as India, China, and Japan than it is in Europe. In some of these regions conditions resemble those of the Ancient World rather than those of modern industrial society—that is, the extent of want is very great, but it does not so much affect status, and hence does not cause so much mental suffering. On the other hand, the condition in the more recently opened sections, such as Australia and South Africa, is almost certainly better even than in North America, while, making due allowance for difference in standards, the amount of poverty in South America is probably no greater than in the United States and Canada. Of course, a world estimate is merely a guess, but judging from the known facts, and including poverty of all types, it seems almost certain that of the civilized and semi-civilized inhabitants of the world, at least one in four are living below any standard which civilization recognizes as adequate.

Meaning of Poverty.—What this means to the individual will be illustrated in the chapters that follow; what, if allowed to continue,

it means for civilization has been pointed out by many recent writers of whom Oswald Spengler in *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* has attracted the most attention. As Parsons has made clear in his *Introduction to Modern Social Problems,* modern civilization can be destroyed only from within, and the existence of this large element of society constantly living below the standard of the group constitutes a menace beside which all others pale into insignificance. Civilization may not survive, and it surely cannot progress, if so large a proportion of the population is bereft of its benefits. Hence the importance of bringing into the foreground of national and world-wide consciousness the extent and seriousness of poverty; if this is once realized the socialized intelligence of mankind may be depended upon for its gradual elimination and ultimate extinction. Poverty exists because of ignorance and selfishness. Scientists are every day dispelling ignorance, although we are only at the beginning of a scientific knowledge of society. Selfishness can be met only by an educational system which takes into account the fact that some form of the Golden Rule, whether enunciated by Jesus, Socrates, Buddha, or Confucius, must lie at the basis of all social welfare and progress.

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CHAPTER III

CAUSES OF POVERTY

In the preceding chapter the history of poverty, its extent and some of its results in modern society, have been summarized. Here an attempt will be made to find out what lies behind this sinister social phenomenon.

Religious and Historical Explanations.—An attack of fever, an unlucky hunting, or a blasted harvest in the primitive world were explained as the result of a broken taboo or as the work of an offended deity. Early religions, including the Hebrew, are full of examples of poverty caused by offences against the gods. Job and his friends were perplexed because they could not find out how he had sinned so that all the evils, including loss of property, should be visited on his head; and Adam was condemned to toil *in poverty* because he had sinned. The later wisdom of the Jews sought a more rational cause of poverty; and laziness, sensual indulgence, and dissipation were suggested. Later still the prophets came much nearer the modern attitude with their emphasis on social injustice, and Jesus' praise of poverty showed that he did not ascribe it to sin.

At times special classes of the poor have received particular attention, and the cause that has created them has been assumed to be general. An excellent example was the common feeling in England at one period that the enclosures were responsible for nearly all poverty, and at another the invention of machinery which threw handicraft workers out of employment. Certain writers of charm and force have built up one-sided explanations of poverty. Perhaps the best example of this is the single-tax theory of Henry George, who believed that taxation on improvements was responsible for most misery.

Scientific Analysis.—No scientific analysis of the causes of poverty has been possible until recent years, for the case method, which furnishes the only satisfactory basis for study, has been in use not more than fifty years, and in any thorough-going way, scarcely twenty-five. Warner points out that there have been three methods of searching for causes: first, the philosophical or deductive; second, the inductive study of individuals already pauperized; and finally the inductive study of classes not yet pauperized, "to determine . . . what forces are tending to crowd individuals downward across the pauper line." [1] Both of the latter methods are of comparatively recent

[1] Warner, A. G., *American Charities* (rev. ed.) New York, 1918, p. 36.

development; each supplements the other, and a knowledge of both is needed.

Of the two, individuals and groups already pauperized offer the best opportunity for careful study, but even here it is exceedingly difficult to avoid subjective interpretation. Any experience at the intake desk of a relief agency teaches one that the reasons given by individuals for their own difficulties are of little value, while even the apparent cause which brings about misfortune and which the social worker is apt to list, is frequently merely a symptom of something more fundamental underneath. Indeed, the common custom of listing causes early in a piece of social investigation is a dangerous practice. Miss Richmond, in what is the most thorough description of case analysis to date, is careful to point out that "no diagnosis is final." [2] Nevertheless, analysis by trained social workers of a sufficient number of cases furnishes what is the nearest approach to accuracy in a discussion of causation. As has been often pointed out, the resemblance between such an analysis and the diagnosis of the physician is close.

The abnormal and pathological cases coming to the social agency should constantly be checked up with a study of conditions in the reasonably normal classes of society. It is in this sphere particularly that inductive studies of various social groups and of samples of society taken at random are of value. Giddings calls attention to the necessity of guarding against the bias that comes from constant association with the subnormal and abnormal. He says: [3]

"to correct these errors and to avoid bias, social workers and students of social work cases need to keep in touch with researches that are being carried on in the study of normal social and societal evolution. . . . Sociology can give them, and should give them, poise and balance, a comprehensive view, a sense of relative values, and an apprehension of proportions and of probabilities."

The constant comparison of cases of poverty themselves with what seems to be the norm is absolutely essential for an accurate knowledge of causation.

Difficulties in Analysis.—Even with a careful study of cases and accurate observation as a background, it is difficult to differentiate. Indeed so many are the obstacles, so complex the relationships between immediate and remote forces, and so difficult is it to generalize from the data at hand, that some competent observers have declared the task fruitless. Yet some recurrent factors can be noted; and as

[2] Mary Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*, New York, p. 363.

[3] Giddings, F. H., *Scientific Study of Human Society*, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1924. pp. 97-99.

such analytical study is continued, their scope and importance can be more accurately gauged.

Classification of Causes.—For purposes of simplicity in classification, although with no attempt to arrange them in order of priority or importance, the various causes may be grouped under the following headings:

1. Influences arising in the physical environment,
2. Biological factors,
3. Economic factors,
4. Political factors,
5. Societal-psychological factors.

It will be seen that sometimes individual factors belong under more than one heading, as for instance illness caused by a climatic or parasitic condition, which is in itself attributable to the physical environment, while the susceptibility of an individual may be due to an inherited weakness, which, of course, is biological. In the same way economic, political, and societal factors are frequently difficult to separate; over-population, for example, has effects and causes which involve all three. The point to be remembered, however, is that all these types of factors exert very definite causative influences on the extent of the poverty in the world.

Physical Environment

Among the influences in the physical environment which create poverty either in themselves or in combination with other factors, the following may be distinguished:

a. Lack of fertility in the soil,
b. Paucity or inaccessibility of other natural resources,
c. Parasites, or insect or animal pests reducing productivity of soil or of human energy,
d. Natural cataclysms or climatic cycles:
   (1) Floods, droughts, earthquakes, volcanoes,
   (2) Gradually decreasing rainfall, increasing cold, etc.

Lack of Fertility in Soil.—The effect of barren soil in causing poverty is easily illustrated. One has but to travel over areas such as the sand barrens of New Jersey, the Irish bogs, the highlands of Scotland (where they have not been enriched by tourists), or the south-central plateau of France, and note how closely the character of the soil—not the scenery—corresponds with the poverty of the inhabitants. The change that a few miles will make in the character of the country and of the people is striking. The difference, too, between peoples of essentially the same stock is sometimes conspicuous; for example, Prince Edward Island, whose red clay is a veritable potato mine, and

the barren and rocky shores of Newfoundland are both settled by Highland Scotch. The Newfoundlanders are poor, often wretchedly so, and if it were not for the fishy yield of their coasts on which they sometimes subsist for months, would die of starvation; the Prince Edward Islanders, on the other hand, are almost to a man comfortable and well provided for. In general, however, the geographic and the biologic factors coincide; as Ripley points out so convincingly in his study of the races in France,[4] it is the relatively inferior peoples who live in the barren inaccessible areas, while those stronger in body and in mind have taken possession of the richer territories. The barrens of New Jersey furnish a refuge for the "Pineys," a group of degenerates and defectives, who squat on land that is of little use to anyone else. The progressive individuals and peoples who find themselves in barren regions leave them and migrate to more productive localities, from which they may push the less aggressive inhabitants. Such is the drama of history, and it is repeated with minor variations and under different disguises among individuals and family groups. Either by force, under primitive conditions, or by shrewdness and calculation, under modern, the intelligent, capable farmer sooner or later comes into possession of the best farming land, and the less capable has to be content with what is left. Where there is plenty to go around this condition does not create actual poverty—simply inequality—but this halcyon situation has seldom existed, and with the gradual exhaustion of the world's agricultural territory, becomes increasingly less possible.

Paucity or Inaccessibility of Natural Resources.—There are countries, among them many of the more progressive, where the fertility of the soil or its quantity is strictly limited—England,for example—which are by no means in poverty. The explanation lies in the fact that the economic basis of civilization is not founded on foodstuffs alone, but also on the possession of other materials. Such utilities as coal, iron, lumber, copper, and water-power are not only valuable in themselves, but can be exchanged directly or indirectly for foodstuffs. Conversely, countries and sections which do not possess these natural resources in large volume must deprive themselves of such goods as they do possess in order to secure the minimum supply of these and other essential gifts of nature. Agriculture itself is increasingly dependent on machinery, and machinery requires minerals and motive material—coal, petroleum, or water-power—from which electricity can be generated. Such supplies must be not only relatively abundant but accessible. Countries or sections which have no deposits of natural resources must be dependent on their agriculture or on the intelligence and skill of their workmen to keep them from poverty. On

[4] Ripley, W. Z., *Races of Europe.*

the other hand, the possession of vast natural resources is in itself no sure guarantee of wealth. Mexico and Russia are both tremendous reservoirs of oil, which have not, however, preserved either the peon or the mujik from abject poverty.

Parasites, Insects, or Animal Pests.—While man has not yet learned to control the climatic and geologic conditions that influence fertility of soil and wealth of natural resources, he has already won many battles in his constant war with the third environmental factor, the bacteria, insects, and animals which dispute the possession of the world with him. Yet, in spite of these victories, some Cassandras maintain that man may yet be vanquished by the smallest of these enemies, bacteria. Animals in the early world and in primitive societies today, besides being dangerous, use up man's food supply and hence cause poverty. As man has advanced in civilization he has gained increasing control over his animal relatives, so that today in civilized societies the damage done by most animals is nominal in amount and is compensated many times over by the service which the domesticated animals render. The one great exception to this statement is the rat, which apparently thrives on civilization, and the depredations of which in the United States are estimated by the Department of Agriculture at $200,000,000 per annum. The annual loss by rats in this country is at least one quarter of the loss by fire. There are estimated to be at least 350,000,000 rats in the country, and with four or five litters a year, and eight to ten young to a litter, the increase is enormous. Not only is the rat expensive in himself, but he is even more dangerous as a host to parasites which carry disease germs, the most dangerous of which are those responsible for the dreaded bubonic plague. For that reason many of the European governments and especially the Health Commission of the League of Nations have been carrying on organized warfare against the rat, with considerable success.

The size of man's effective enemies has decreased as civilization has advanced. The rat, among the smallest of animals, has taken the place held by the huge carnivores in prehistoric times, and even more dangerous to human life and happiness are the insects such as the mosquito and the common house-fly. These insects are important causes of poverty as they are carriers of disease, either as hosts of parasitic germs which they pass on, like the mosquito, or as distributors of filth, like the fly. The harmful insects are more common in the warmer climates, although the flea and the louse—the latter, as experience in the War demonstrated, a thoroughly dangerous as well as unpleasant neighbor—seem to thrive in almost any temperature. That insects such as the mosquito, which carries yellow fever and malaria, are distinct causative factors in individual and national pov-

erty, in that they bring on death and debilitating illness, is self-evident; the connection between the other "vermin" and poverty is not quite so obvious, except as one calls to mind the health conditions of some of the peasantry of Eastern Europe, or has had a varied experience in visiting the homes of the poor in city and country alike.

The existence of man's bacterial enemies was discovered by medical science only during the last half-century, and the untold effort and devotion spent in combating them has been rewarded with considerable success. Of the origin of these organisms little is known; some diseases are apparently as old as man, and evidence of their existence is found in prehistoric fossil remains and in Egyptian mummies; others are comparatively modern and the organism which causes them apparently finds scope for its destructive work in civilized society only. In general the parasite attacks successfully the individual with least resistance, and since resistance to a very considerable extent is hereditary, in the last analysis here also the biological factor is important. In addition to this factor, to which certain parasites such as the bacillus which causes typhoid seem to be partial exceptions, there is another biological factor due to natural selection. To many parasitic diseases certain races of men have been exposed for ages, and the individuals who were susceptible have succumbed and the survivors have passed on their immunity to their descendants. The negro races, for example, are practically immune to certain tropical diseases, while the tuberculosis bacillus which flourishes in temperate climates is notoriously much more fatal to the negroes than to the whites. Of the hereditary nature of immunity and susceptibility to tuberculosis, Karl Pearson has given abundant statistical proof.[5] Indeed many scientists feel that the present decline in the death-rate from tuberculosis is due less to more scientific methods of treatment, than to the fact that we are developing immunity through natural selection.

Whatever the biological influence, however, the fact remains that illness and early death of wage-earner or housekeeper bulk large among the factors which bring on poverty, and that parasitic infections are responsible for more serious illnesses and consequent fatalities than any other one cause. Consequently increased knowledge and more effective control of parasites, whether through hygienic or biologic methods, is an end to be devoutly wished by the student of social maladjustment.

Climatic Cycles.—Recent anthropogeographers have given increasing attention to the effects of long continued climatic changes on human wealth and poverty. The foremost exponent of this connection is Ellsworth Huntington, who holds that the whole course of

[5] Eugenics Laboratory Memoirs.

history is determined by alternating periods of humidity and drought.[6] Whether one would go the whole way or not, there is little question that climatic changes are tremendously effective in bringing about conditions of wealth or of poverty. Here, too, the racial or biologic factor is important; the more progressive or vigorous races or individuals emigrate from a country whose climate is rapidly becoming too cold, too wet, or too dry for comfortable living; but the climate is nevertheless a determining factor with those left behind. Poverty, ignorance, stolidity, and sometimes, on the other hand, great physical skill and endurance, are all the products of a niggardly nature.

Disasters.—Great cataclysms, whether due to natural causes such as floods, droughts, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, etc., or to human causes such as fires, famine (caused by faulty distribution), and the destruction of war, not only cause severe suffering and absolute dependence at the time, but leave behind them a fresh crop of pauperized individuals. These are not only the ones whose health and support have been taken away by the disaster, but there is the even larger number whose independence of spirit has been definitely undermined by the indiscriminate relief-giving during the emergency. The history of any recent disaster bears witness to the dangers inherent in indiscriminate relief; and yet such relief is an inevitable first stage.[7] Fortunately for mankind the number of disasters is relatively small, and more and more we are learning from experience better methods of coping with them.

Biological Factors

Although it is difficult to measure the importance of the factors which tend to create social maladjustments, and equally difficult to separate them, most students are agreed that physical environment combined with biological influences are primary. Other causes, some of which are given below, are to a very large extent due fundamentally to one or the other of these or to both working in combination.

Inherited Defects.—In recent years the emphasis on inheritance has become increasingly pronounced, and in no field has the potency of heredity been more strikingly proved than in the inheritance of mental traits. Intelligence above the average and lack of intelligence both are passed on from parents to children, and no single influence is so absolutely certain to cause poverty as low mentality. The two are inseparable; not that all poor people are mentally defective, but that without exception all mentally defective and even dull normal individuals, if left to themselves, are poor, and the great majority of

[6] Huntington, Ellsworth, *The Pulse of Asia.*

[7] Deacon, J. B., *Disaster Relief,* and McClean F. J., *The San Francisco Disaster,* New York.

them are dependents and paupers. Dugdale, in his classic study of one of the most famous feeble-minded families, says;

"The ideal pauper is the idiotic adult unable to help himself, who may be called a living embodiment of death." [8]

Fortunately, or unfortunately (depending on whether one takes a short or a long view of the situation), most defectives are of a higher grade, and consequently are less "ideal" paupers. Many are occasionally self-supporting, and many more might be so if society looked after them properly. Under present conditions, however, while the vast majority are not continuously technical paupers, they constitute the most miserable section of the poor, and through sexual selection and a birth-rate absolutely unregulated by prudential considerations, tend to increase their kind.

Careful statistical studies have been made of the inheritance, not only of mental defect, but also of general intelligence and of selected mental traits, and these studies seem to prove beyond a shadow of doubt that mental qualities of all kinds are inherited. Since intelligence, which is mainly the ability to adapt and control environment, is by and large determinative of well-being, its absence becomes one of the great contributing causes of poverty. It is not, therefore, very far from the truth to assert, as many of our foremost sociologists have done, that the absence of a eugenic program which would limit the increase of the less gifted individuals is the primary cause of poverty. While other causes operate over limited areas and for varying periods of time, in the long run this factor is fundamental.

The biometricians have not stopped with mental inheritance, but in many equally convincing studies have shown that the common belief in the inheritance of physical defects and liability to disease was based on accurate observation. While the amount of inherited liability, and the diseases which are inheritable and those which apparently are not, is not altogether determined, we know enough to be certain that such liability and inheritance are common phenomena. Obvious defects, such as deaf-mutism, which is hereditary, are distinct handicaps, but their incidence is comparatively rare, and educational and industrial facilities have been organized that frequently prevent the deaf-mute from becoming a dependent. In a somewhat less degree, other inherited defects are being compensated for through education. It is when we come to the liability to specific diseases, and susceptibility to infections, that we run into factors of number and importance. Illness and early death are of all apparent causes of poverty the most numerous; tuberculosis, pneumonia, heart and kidney disease, appear most frequently on the records of charitable agencies, and it would

[8] Dugdale, R. L., *The Jukes*, p. 47.

seem that susceptibility to such diseases is to an extent hereditary.

"To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken even that which he hath," is nowhere more abundantly proved than in the study of individuals in need. Statisticians once more confirm the experience of observation when they demonstrate that unfortunately for the victims, poor mental and poor physical traits are generally joint inheritances, the tendency to postulate genius with ill-health notwithstanding. Genius, which is very rare and consequently difficult to study, may occasionally be joined with defective physique, but general intelligence and general health are twins. More and more the students of hygiene are coming to believe that healthy bodies are necessary for healthy minds, and the students of heredity to demonstrate that parents who hand on diseased and susceptible bodies to their offspring, hand on warped and twisted minds as well. Family studies of defectives not only show inherited mental defects, but like Pelion on Ossa, show the same families handicapped with far more than their share of physical ills. Undoubtedly this is partly due to lack of care, which in turn goes back to the weak mental inheritance, but part of it is due to direct inheritance.

Over-population.—Next to inheritance, over-population, or a too rapid increase of population, is the most important biologic cause of poverty. In spite of the criticism to which it has been subjected during the last century, the time-honored dictum of Malthus still holds good; if the population is allowed to increase naturally it ultimately presses on the food supply, and the results are poverty, illness, and war. It is not necessary to elaborate this point. Such books as East's *Mankind at the Crossroads*, and Wright's valuable handbook *Population*, add to the logic of Malthus a convincing body of historical and statistical proof which was unobtainable in his day. A too sudden increase in population may ultimately be met by emigration or a belated improvement which increases the food supply, but in the meantime the result is increased poverty. Sudden migrations which have doubled and trebled population in certain areas, such as those of refugees during the World War, are cases in point. But the persistent increase of population without any checks has only one result—an equally persistent poverty,—and if continued to its logical conclusion, ends in pestilence, war, or famine, and perhaps in all three. Huntington's enlightening study of famines in China and the poverty of the Chinese people over centuries offers apt illustration.[9]

Acquired Illness, Epidemics, and Early Death.—Aside from the diseases to which inheritance makes mankind liable there are others, typhoid being a notable example, the incidence of which seems to have

[9] Huntington, E., *The Character of Races*, New York, 1924, pp. 148–204. Both Fueter (*World History*) and Wells (*Outline of History*) elaborate this discussion in regard to Ireland.

no connection with heredity. In the present state of medical knowledge it is impossible wholly to dissociate the entirely acquired from the hereditary forms of disease; both are among the most important of the factors bringing about poverty. Statistics as to disease are often misleading and inaccurate, but a careful reading of the case records of relief agencies, and a comparison of the family histories there recorded with those of normal families above the poverty-line, shows an amazing difference in the amount of illness. To argue whether illness is a cause or a result of poverty is quite like arguing the older question as to which came first, the hen or the egg. Again the terrible words ring true; to him that hath shall be given. So far as illness is not directly caused by heredity and poverty it can be and is being controlled, although not nearly as adequately as it should be; our practise never catches up with our theory in such matters. And it is on the poor that the burden of illness falls most heavily; it comes to every home "with its message of pain and destruction . . . but for every one visit to the mansion it comes twice to the tenement and thrice to the hovel." [10] Warner estimated that one-fourth of the burden of charitable organizations in America was due to sickness, but if premature death and incapacity are added, and inherited and acquired ills are lumped together, the present writer feels certain that the percentage should be much higher. The encouraging feature of this recital is that medical and sanitary science is continuously increasing our knowledge of the causes of disease, and that the possibilities of prolonging life and efficiency, even in the face of a mechanical civilization, are on the increase.

Economic Causes

In a preceding section the writer had the temerity to say that the fundamental causes of poverty were those inherent in the physical environment and in the biological heredity. This statement runs counter to the opinion of many writers. We are living in a period of economic determinism, and what should so naturally be economically determined as poverty? A recent writer does not hesitate to begin his chapter on economic factors with the following statement:

"More important by far than the physical environment or hereditary influences are the socio-economic factors, some of which affect the income, others the expenditure, while still others are connected with the distribution of wealth and the relations between population and natural resources." [11]

[10] Hunter, R., *Poverty*, New York, 1917, p. 143.
[11] Gillin, J. L., *Poverty and Dependency*, New York, 1921, p. 68.

It is with no wish to minimize the importance of economic causes that the emphasis in the present book is laid on physical environment and heredity—but the economic factors mentioned are in the main themselves determined by the environment and the heredity of the individuals in the group. It is the physical environment which by its generosity or poverty places the limits on the income, and it is the physical and mental inheritance of the individual or race which determines whether or not this limit shall be attained. The expenditure itself is naturally limited by the income, and whether it shall be for those things which are individually and socially advantageous or wasteful, is again almost entirely indicated by the individual or group intelligence —beyond doubt an inherited characteristic. Distribution, that most difficult of all economic problems, since it is the one in which the interests of the individual and of the group most frequently conflict, is again largely, if not in the long run entirely, controlled by the wisdom or lack of wisdom of the group and its leaders, and that wisdom, which embraces character as well as intelligence, is inherited in accordance with biologic laws.

The economic causes of poverty are immediate—a man is poor because he lacks goods. It is simple and satisfying to lay the lack on defects in our industrial system, as defects there are; but more and more our increasing knowledge of individual differences and of the potentialities of differing environments is leading us to distrust the relatively simple economic explanations of poverty.

There are, however, certain obvious defects in our industrial system, after all only one hundred years old, which tend to produce poverty, and the correction of which will do much to make the world a better place to live in. The point to be borne in mind, however, is that such corrections and such defects are only matters of social machinery, and that changing them would have less effect on the amount and types of poverty than many believe. Karl Marx and Henry George, for example, staked their whole social program, which included the abolition of poverty, on economic changes. Russia has attempted with questionable success to put the Marxian program into operation, but the result so far appears to be more rather than less poverty; and the land-tax, while an admirable addition to our taxation system and one which in principle commends itself to most serious thinkers, has not perceptibly reduced poverty in places where it has been put into effect. The hard facts of heredity and the limitations of environment still remain fundamental.

Faulty Distribution.—Of the economic factors which it is claimed are responsible for poverty none has received more attention than our system of distribution. The very fact that we have in society the painfully evident contrasts of great wealth and abject poverty,

in many cases apparently unaccounted for by environment or ability, has caused many observers to feel that faulty distribution is the greatest social problem. That unfair distribution of the rewards of labor is responsible for much poverty, no one can deny; that in the long run and in the vast majority of cases it is responsible, has not yet been proved. It is the skilled worker who either because of his skill, or because he has intelligence enough to see the advantage of well organized and effective labor unions, comes the nearest to receiving the rewards of his labor: the unskilled, illiterate worker, cursed by a poor individual or social inheritance, is exploited and underpaid. On the other hand, with occasional startling exceptions, it is the person of first-class physical and mental inheritance who reaps the great rewards of life. The exceptions to both rules are, however, far too numerous, and the great task before the economists and the industrial organizers is to reduce their number. A more careful study of industry from a statistical standpoint is bringing us nearer to an exact knowledge of what each individual or group contributes. What is now needed is a wider dissemination of the results of such studies and a more thorough organization of the exploited groups in order to make their demands effective. On the other hand, a more highly socialized training of the better equipped, and instruction that emphasizes not only the ethical desirability but the economic wisdom of a more equitable distribution, is also needed. It is comparatively easy to place the blame for poverty on class exploitation, but close contact with the poor convinces one, as nothing else does, that if the day ever comes when such exploitation and its consequent unfair distribution is done away with, the great bulk of poverty will still remain untouched —if nothing else is done.

Waste in Industry and Distribution of Products.—There are, however, certain factors, almost purely economic, which since they effect the amount of goods produced per unit of labor, have a great effect on poverty. In fact *waste* of natural resources or *waste* of labor is exactly the same in its result as a poor physical environment—the difference being that one is more or less beyond social control, the other immediately subject to it. A few years ago Herbert J. Hoover and an associated group of engineers after careful study made a very severe indictment of American industry, and pointed out that the amount of actual waste of both material and labor was stupendous. A similar study of agriculture—still our greatest single industry—would unquestionably show even more serious waste. Who in travelling through the countryside has not seen valuable farm machinery left out to rust, and carefully irrigated fields going back to the desert for lack of a little attention? The diversion of labor and material to the manufacture and distribution of unnecessary and sometimes harmful prod-

ucts is another case of waste. Infant pacifiers, condemned by all reputable physicians, are a small example; all in all, these disease-breeding implements must absorb a considerable amount of rubber and celluloid each year, and take up the time of several hundred workers who might otherwise be productively employed. The greatest example of waste, probably largely unavoidable, which this generation has seen, was in war-time production. The defects of our industrial system, as well as its merits, became evident. We did manage to get supplies over to France, but we wasted literally millions of dollars' worth of material and other millions of labor *en route*. While this waste effort made work temporarily it was an important cause of the high prices and consequent suffering after the war.

The distribution of goods is attended by even more waste than their manufacture. The dozens of small stores that fail each year in almost any locality,—thousands throughout the country,—are examples of wasted effort. The manufacturing concerns are frequently managed by trained experts, but the small distributor usually has little training. The growth of chain stores with a supervisory management will undoubtedly help to eliminate much of the waste in distribution.

Business Cycles and Unemployment.—With the gradual improvement of statistical science, business cycles have become something of a known quantity. That they existed, it did not take statisticians to discover; all workers knew it, and all employers of labor. In the words of Professor Commons they are

> trends, cycles and jerks combined and may be due to such factors as a world war, a mistaken bank policy, . . . a change from silver to gold or paper money, a change in tariffs . . . etc.; in fact to anything that produces a change in the general purchasing power of money.[12]

The result, so far as the worker is concerned, is twofold; a change in the value of his wage, and a change in the amount of employment available. These changes may be either adverse or favorable. It is only the unfavorable ones that we are concerned with here. A sudden decrease in the purchasing power of a wage is obviously a temporary cause of poverty; but of even greater importance is a sudden stoppage of all income, or a large reduction of income, through unemployment, complete or partial. In this case the reduction of income is not always the worst. Every social worker knows that frequent and long-continued unemployment is thoroughly demoralizing, and the result is often that the unemployed man becomes ultimately "unemployable."

[12] Commons, J. R., *Scope of Unemployment Insurance*, American Labor Legislation Review, Vol. XV, p. 35.

Another thing that every social worker and every industrial statistician knows is that much unemployment and irregular employment is due not chiefly to business cycles, which are more or less unforeseen and sometimes unavoidable—though with increasing scientific insight in business they are becoming less so—but to the regular policy of the industry. The longshoremen are the classic example, but other industries, some seasonal in nature and many not, for various reasons conduct their business in such a way that there is considerable unemployment all the time except at the very peak of the season. All such unemployment is productive of poverty, not only through decreased earnings, but through the demoralizing influence of idleness. Obligatory unemployment insurance enforced by the state would unquestionably tend both to lower the peaks and raise the valleys in the ordinary employment curve. In the case of business cycles, what is needed above all else is intensive inquiry into the conditioning factors. A governmental weather-bureau of highly trained economists would do much to eliminate this cause of poverty, as well as aid our business interests inestimably. Various private groups are making beginnings, and some governmental departments are interested, but a much more extensive and intensive effort is needed.

Immigration.—The movement of peoples from one country to another is a difficult causative factor to place. Originally it was chiefly due to combined paucity of natural resources and increasing population, and it is largely conditioned by these causes even now. Some great migrations, however, have been caused by religious or political forces; such were the settlement of New England, the migration of the Huguenots to England and America, and in our own day the eastward movement of the Zionists to Palestine. But now, as throughout history, most migration is caused by economic factors. The immigrants to the United States seldom possess much ready money to tide over the period of unemployment which ordinarily succeeds their landing. Hence the immigrant is often thrown into poverty at the start, —though not ordinarily into dependence on public authorities, which would mean deportation; he is generally cared for temporarily by his fellow-countrymen. When the ordinary industrial and personal crises have come in the lives of foreigners they are less well-equipped than the native-born to meet them. Relatives are a long way off, family and social ties are partially severed, and among some peoples relief-seeking is looked on as perfectly normal. The extent to which immigration augments the problem of poverty in America is strikingly illustrated by Miss Breckinridge in *Family Welfare Work.* In this book forty-four typical case-records of two Chicago agencies are given in detail; of the forty-four all but ten are immigrant families. It must be borne in mind that Chicago has a very large immigrant population and that one

of the two agencies from which records were taken was a Jewish one, which would naturally have a much larger percentage of foreign born; but the fact remains, whether the fault be theirs or ours, that immigrants constitute a very large proportion of the poor in America.

Political Factors

In dealing with the secondary or derivative causative factors, it is exceedingly difficult to make accurate differentiation. Economics and politics blend into each other; and both are dependent to a larger extent than we sometimes think on the underlying forces in the physical environment, and the biological and psychological elements in man. Many factors might with equal justice be placed in one group or in another. An excellent example of this is the next causative factor to be considered,—taxation.

Unjust Taxation.—Taxation is justified economically if it provides for the community or the nation the necessary public services of protection, transportation, and the administration of justice, education, etc., in the most efficient way possible with a minimum of expenditure. It should also fall with comparative equality upon all in proportion to their ability to pay and to the returns they receive. That this is the case now or ever has been, no one would be hardy enough to maintain. It is almost axiomatic among students of taxation, that, with the exception of inheritance taxes and death dues, all taxes can be shifted, and this shifting of taxes places the burden very largely on the shoulders of those least able to pay. The tariff is the best example of this, but taxes on real estate are equally burdensome to the poor tenant. Again it is a case of taking from those who have not the little that they have. Unjust incidence of taxation is not a fundamental underlying cause of poverty in the United States, but it does its bit to throw into the maelstrom of want many who would otherwise remain outside, and to sink deeper in its baleful depths a very substantial number who would otherwise occasionally reach the surface. To prevent shifting of taxation is not an easy task, but it is one that should be constantly considered by political leaders.

Governmental Waste and Inefficiency.—In a previous section waste in industry was discussed and Mr. Hoover's report on its magnitude in America was cited. Compared with governmental waste, however, the waste in industry, tremendous as it is, pales into insignificance. The ineptitude of the political leaders in democracies has become almost a byword, and it is strikingly illustrated in their dealing with financial matters. The amount of money wasted by various governmental departments in Washington each year, if it could be accurately ascertained, would stagger the imagination. Marble post-offices

for prairie villages, harbor developments for sand-choked creeks, salary increases for sedentary officials, are among the minor extravagances of Congressional appropriations. Tremendous irrigation efforts are undertaken by one Congress to cost millions, and mayhap to redound ultimately to the advantage of vast sections of country; and then after the first millions are spent, the succeeding millions are denied, and the money and effort invested are absolutely thrown away. And all this waste and inefficiency, from the printing of the Congressional Record to the cost of the Muscle Shoals development, must come out of the pocket of the tax-payer. Wise governmental expenditure which brings returns in increased production and more adequate scientific knowledge, both of our national resources and our international policies, is not only desirable and necessary from every point of view, but ultimately returns with interest even to the poor man; but waste and inefficiency not only take away his bread and give him a stone in return, but destroy his confidence in democracy. In view of recent disclosures, it scarcely seems necessary to go into the vilest forms of governmental waste and inefficiency, involving absolute robbery of the government—which means robbery of the people. Neither is it necessary to go into detail here regarding the partial failure of the courts and our entire legal system to protect the poor,—not only as tax-payers, but as citizens,—against exploitation. One has only to read the decisions of the majority of the United States Supreme Court in cases involving social issues to be convinced that such failure exists in high places, and studies such as Smith's *Justice and the Poor* reveal its existence throughout the lower ranks of the judiciary and the legal profession generally. Such inefficiency—to call it by no harsher term—helps to create an obsession on the part of some of the poor that the government exists simply for exploitation.

Unwise and Indiscriminate Public Relief.—Not all relief is given through public or political agencies, but in this country and England, at least, a very large portion is so administered. While public relief varies in nature and effectiveness, much of it is justly subject to criticism; it actually creates poverty. Indiscriminate giving with no inquiry into causes and no attempt to rehabilitate the recipient, creates and maintains a pauper class. In the discussion of the various methods of relief this question will be more fully considered, but since by and large much of the unscientific philanthropy in America is publicly controlled, one is justified in laying this cause at the door of the state. Since charity departments in cities are frequently the strongholds of petty graft, the dishonesty and inefficiency of machine politics enter to complicate the situation. Although penal systems can scarcely be classified as philanthropic in the narrower sense, yet for convenience they also may be mentioned here as distinct creators of poverty. In-

deed the same criticism to a less degree might be made of many municipal hospitals, wayfarer's lodges, and county almshouses. Some of these institutions will be discussed hereafter; the point here is that they create poverty; the extent to which they alleviate it will be considered later.

Ineffective International Organizations, and War.—There seems at first sight little connection between improperly conducted jails and almshouses, and ineffective international organization. Fundamentally there is a very close connection; both signify the incompetence of mankind to govern itself, and its inability to look ahead; or rather, perhaps, the indifference of the average man toward anything but the immediate present. Both unwise public philanthropy and war have this in common, that they contribute to the sum total of poverty. But here the resemblance ceases; ineffective international organization with its tremendous burden for armaments and its results in terrific wars is the most potent political factor which makes for poverty, and compared with it all others are infinitesimal. Even ordinary governmental waste, while apparently enormous, pales into utter insignificance beside the 100 per cent. waste which military and naval expenditures in peace time involve, and utterly disappears from sight when compared with the costs of modern warfare. Whole races and nations are reduced to poverty by it. Post-war Germany with its underfed children, its decaying universities, and its shattered social life comes readily to mind, but the peoples of most of the other nations of Europe are paying as well. Even in the United States we are taxed as never before, and the greatest part of our taxes goes to pay for past or future wars. One battleship costs as much as the entire endowment of Harvard University. It is not necessary to dwell on the direct influence of war; thousands of Belgian and Armenian refugees during the last ten years have testified to that. The indirect cost is even greater. Our children and our children's children will continue to be burdened with the costs of the Great War. It is not necessary to elaborate this point; it is self-evident. From the point of view of the burden of the poor, if from no other, one can readily agree with that wise American, Benjamin Franklin, who said, "There never was a just war nor an unjust peace."

If biological and environmental factors are fundamentally responsible for poverty and are to a very large extent responsible even for war itself,—it is war, due to ineffective international organization, which directly creates more poverty than any other single factor, disease alone excepted.

Psychological Factors

The most important psychological factor, inherited mental incompetence, has been discussed in connection with the "biological factors."

Aside from the factor of inheritance, there are, however, certain attitudes prevalent in modern society, which because of their dominating influence affect production and distribution, to the extent of being themselves influences in affecting the volume of poverty. Indeed, some writers, notably Hexter,[13] have gone to the extreme of interpreting most economic and social trends as primarily psychological in origin, particularly the business cycle.

Non-Social Orientation in Economic Life.—Among the most important of these psychological attitudes is the predominant emphasis on immediate profits. Thorstein Veblen's recent studies of American economic life have pointed out the influence of this attitude. It lies back of much of our waste and selfish exploitation. It leaves no place for constructive effort continued over long periods, and is fundamentally responsible for such economic fallacies as the "lump of labor" theory. Coöperation is recognized as important only on the basis of profits; the essential worth-whileness of the product is not considered, nor is the spirit of workmanship cultivated. This same attitude accounts in a large measure for forced consumption brought about by carefully planned propaganda and expensive advertising campaigns. Neither of these have any motive except that of profits, immediate and sure, and they often foist on an ignorant public goods which are shoddy and unnecessary or even actually harmful.[14] That such methods and attitudes cause waste is evident to anyone who has given the situation a moment's thought.

Lack of Thrift.—The profit motive and the lack of thrift are not necessarily corollaries, but they are closely related. The highly intelligent individual may deny himself immediate pleasure for the sake of future benefit; but among many workers and many employers as well, immediate and showy expenditure takes the place of self-denying care for the future. Just as on the up-swing of an economic circle the "bull" on the market sees nothing but prosperity, so the worker who is making good wages under boom conditions is too often indifferent to the fact that there may be shoals ahead. With some, this indifference is due to mental dullness,—an inability to visualize anything but the present. Others, partly because of defective education and largely because of the *Zeitgeist,* have adopted the attitude which they see common among the other classes of society. Veblen has stated that the criterion of belonging to the leisure class is the ability to display "conspicuous waste"; why should not the worker as well as the employer desire to flaunt the badge of social superiority? Hence silk stockings, fur coats, silk shirts, over-stuffed parlor suites, expensive automobiles, etc., etc., all often on credit, are procured with

[13] Hexter, M., *Social Consequences of Business Cycles,* Boston, 1924.
[14] Parsons, op. cit., pp. 53–59.

no thought as to what the morrow may bring forth. That such an attitude both among the well-to-do and among the poor is a serious factor in creating poverty and pauperism, is obvious.

Wasteful and Inefficient Domestic Methods.—That such an attitude leads to waste in the home is certain. Not only is thrift absent, but knowledge as well. The American household is the most wasteful in the world. Eminent domestic economists have said that a European family would live well on the leavings of an American. The same psychology which condemns thrift, and wastes material and labor in the shop, condemns it at home; and much more than in the shop the woman who controls the home expenditure is generally untrained. Among the well-to-do and the poor alike there is little training in home management, although some improvement in this direction is visible. Those who visit the homes of the poor are amazed at the waste and inefficiency, but their amazement is unnecessary. How should the women know better? Taken from school —which until recently has done little to make even its domestic science, where there is any, conform to working-class needs and conditions—at the age of fourteen, placed in a factory from eight to ten hours a day, spending her evenings at the "pictures" or on the street, marrying at twenty, and from then on being burdened with a baby a year, is it any wonder that the tin-can and the delicatessen shop are her favorite refuge? Then, too, intelligent housekeeping requires capital for buying in bulk and adequate equipment, which the poor, in conformity with the spirit of the times, prefer to spend on a Ford or a radio set. Nevertheless, a real change for the better is apparent. Our schools are taking leaves out of the settlement books, and instruction in the domestic arts is more common and more practical; and with its introduction into our colleges, it is becoming also more respectable. There are hopes that defective housekeeping may ultimately become less of a factor in our national waste and unhappiness, but at present it also must be classed as a cause of poverty.

Inadequate Recreation and Harmful Stimulants.—Inadequate opportunity for recreation is important in regard to poverty, as it tends to limit the capacity of the worker, and also to make him discontented and unhappy. It is even more important because from lack of proper healthful recreation, he seeks stimulation in other directions, many of which are harmful and affect not only his earning capacity but his health, and also cause him to waste his income. Of all such attempts to secure stimulation the use of alcoholic beverages has been, and despite prohibition, is still the most common. Early studies of poverty placed drink high in the list of causes, but later more scientific students have felt it was an effect of poverty

far more than it was a cause. Undoubtedly the abuse of alcohol brings about a lowering of earning power and a waste of income, and hence may be counted among the causes of poverty, but it is only an indirect cause at best, due very largely to biological heredity, heightened by the lack of appreciation of the importance of recreation, particularly in this period of mechanized and dehumanized industry. The same thing might be said of drug addicts, and other unfortunate seekers after the pleasure which their place in life has apparently denied them. These various groups will be considered in more detail later; the important point here is that a lack of recreation, combined with an industrial system that gives no opportunity for the individual to combine adventure with work, leads to an insistent desire for excitement, and unless society satisfies that desire adequately the individual will seek stimulation in drink, drugs, or other harmful recreation.

Inadequate Education.—It is difficult to know where to place education,—whether under the social or the psychological factors; but since education so definitely reflects the attitude of the community it can perhaps most easily be considered here. It must be borne in mind, however, that the educational system is a part of the social organization of the community, as well as a reaction to its attitude. The relation of the educational system to poverty has been intimated in the preceding paragraphs. Education is to a very large extent a transmission of the lore of the past, and until very recently has had little connection with the future or even the present. With compulsory education, embracing all sorts and conditions of people, there has been some modification toward an attempt to train the individual for the place in life for which his intelligence fits him. A serious difficulty in carrying out this object until very recently has been the inability to test the intelligence of the individual pupil, and even yet certain important traits of character elude measurement. Consequently much of our industrial education has been misdirected, and even more academic education wasted. Unfortunately the emphasis on industrial education has been largely in the technical schools, which are component parts of higher educational systems, rather than in the elementary schools. The lower schools need especially an opportunity for the worker to understand his work, whether in the home or in the factory, but our educational systems have been slow to attempt this. On the other hand, the business man or the professional man needs the broadening influence of a genuinely liberal education in order that he may appreciate and sympathize with the men whom he has to direct. We have gone at the educational system in the wrong way. Thanks to our limited knowledge of human differences we have attempted to bestow a generalized

education on individuals incapable of understanding or using it, and have made highly specialized technicians out of men who need the broadest training for administrative duties and the responsibilities of leadership. Consequently we have in no sense trained the worker so that he is more capable, nor have we trained the leader to lead. That such inadequate and misdirected education contributes to poverty, is indisputable. Elementary education particularly should come more closely in touch with industry and domestic economy; while our higher education should strive to remove the narrow point of view which permeates much modern business and professional life. This postulates a much more careful sifting of students than has ever been done, but science is every day bringing more adequate methods. An educational system largely selective in character could do much to bring out latent capacity, and by thus directing the young in accordance with their natural gifts could prevent untold poverty and unhappiness. Likewise a broadened higher education with much more effective study of present conditions and their historic developments, stressing the obligations of leadership, would prevent much exploitation, thus helping at another point to lighten the load of the poor.

Social Factors

Here the word "social" has been confined to a very limited area; simply social groups or partial groupings, which apparently have some influence on poverty. From the larger point of view almost every factor is social, but in the absence of any other word, this restricted use may be tolerated.

Marital Conditions—Defective Family Groups.—Defective family groups are themselves due to many causes, most of which have been mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. Nevertheless it may be worth while to review them.

The most common defect in family groups which produces poverty is widowhood. The causes of widowhood, with the exception of industrial accident, are almost all biological in character. There are over three million widows in the United States, but over three-quarters of them are over forty-five years of age.[15] We have no way of knowing at present just how many widows had small children when they were left without husbands. While cases of widows are not the most numerous nor the most difficult that come to relief agencies, they are generally among the most expensive.

Some writers have held that the unmarried condition in itself is often a cause of poverty, citing the much larger percentage of unmarried men and women in almshouses than in the population at

[15] Abstract Census, 1920.

large. Such reasoning, it would seem, is putting the cart before the horse. The normal condition of physically and mentally normal individuals of both sexes in a normal community is that of matrimony; does not the very fact of bachelorhood or spinsterhood, especially in the working class, denote some peculiarity, to say the least, and may it not be this peculiarity which is responsible for their poverty? In the lack of any definite evidence to the contrary, it would seem that "single blessedness," rather than being a cause of poverty, is simply an indication of other underlying conditions.

Desertion, like widowhood, is not an underlying cause of poverty, but an indication of other biological, economic, or psychological maladjustments. With widowhood the balance is primarily on the biological; with desertion on the psychological and economic. Desertion is, like widowhood, almost always an expensive relief problem to handle, and far more difficult from the point of view of treatment. Various studies made show a proportion of from seven to ten per cent. of relief cases due to wife desertion.

Illegitimacy, also, is rather an indication of sub-normal mentality or of an abnormal psychological state than a direct cause of poverty. Unquestionably the mother of an illegitimate child is handicapped; unquestionably the child himself under our cruel social conventions is discriminated against. But, so far as the mother is concerned, her real handicap was either in the mentality which she inherited, or in the unfortunate education which she had received.

Conclusion.—Poverty, like all social phenomena, is highly complex. Its causes overlap and intertwine; it is a synthesis of all the worst elements of existence. All that has been attempted in the present chapter is a partial separation of these different factors and an evaluation of their respective importance. That such an attempt cannot be wholly successful is evident. In the chapters that follow, social maladjustments will be considered in greater detail, and perhaps in tracing the effects the causative factors will stand forth in clearer outline.

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CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN POOR RELIEF

English Poor Relief

The development of a system of poor relief in England is of great importance to the American student, as it was brought to this country by the early colonists, and forms the basis on which our system has been built. Moreover, the factors of a common language and literature and close cultural parallels have made the English system of the greatest significance throughout the entire history of charity in the daughter country. American contacts with continental philanthropies, on the other hand, have been comparatively infrequent; and even where European systems have been studied it has often seemed difficult to adapt them to American conditions. Hence it will be worth while to study the English situation not only through the colonial period, but also in its later evolution.

The Reformation and Poor Relief.—Up to the Reformation, poor relief in England was administered on the same general lines as elsewhere in Europe,—that is, by the church; the state assumed no responsibility for the care of the poor. With the dissolution of the monasteries and the confiscation by the Crown of the very considerable funds left by pious people of the preceding centuries for chantries, there came a need for some other method of caring for dependents. Then, as Gray points out in his *History of English Philanthropy*, there was need of a new incentive also. The Catholic charity had been and still is based largely on the doctrine of *penitentia*. The effect of almsgiving on the soul of the donor was theoretically more important than its effect on the recipient. The newer religion, while it did not entirely abandon this doctrine, made it of far less consequence.

The Enclosures.—At the same time that religious changes and royal greed were depriving the poor of their customary sources of relief, poverty itself was increasing. The "enclosures," previously mentioned, deprived the peasants of both homes and employment. These enclosures had begun in the time of Edward III, but were particularly extensive following the Reformation.

Just prior to the Reformation there had been a period of abundance and extravagance, which found its most romantic expression in "The Field of the Cloth of Gold." This was followed by a profound depression and in particular by high prices and lessened capacity

for earning. In the early part of the fourteenth century the annual cost of a peasant's family of four was £3 4s. 9d. whereas after 1540 it was £8—over a hundred per cent increase in the cost of living. Much of this increase was due to the influx of silver from the New World, and some to the debasement of the coinage by Edward IV and Henry VII.

Early National Relief.—Out of the welter of the Reformation period in which much, both good and bad, of the Old World passed away, the national state emerged triumphant. The reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth were periods of nationalization, and relief of the poor became nationalized as well as many other community activities. Following the break-up of the ecclesiastical machinery, the towns attempted in a half-hearted way to care for their own poor, but the first definite policy developed when the state through parliamentary regulation and orders of the Privy Council took hold of the situation. The details are not in themselves important, but they help to make plain the origin and development of what has since become the basic English and American principle, viz., that the *state* is fundamentally responsible for the care of the unfortunate. Even in the beginning the implication is plain that the state is responsible not only for their care but also for the conditions which create their misfortune.

Prior to the Reformation, parliamentary effort toward a solution of the problem of poverty had been in two directions only. Beginning in 1351 it had attempted to regulate by statute wages paid to laborers, with but indifferent success, and from about the same time to suppress, or perhaps more accurately to regulate, begging. This regulation of mendicancy became increasingly stringent until during the reign of Elizabeth "a rogue or sturdy beggar" was to be branded with an R and placed out to service to any master who would take him.

The principle of state regulation of wages has never become a fundamental part of our legal system, although recent minimum wage laws point in that direction; and the control of begging met only a small fraction of the need and was really much more concerned with the police power of the state than with poor relief.

By 1563, some thirty years after the Dissolution, the state was compelled to take more comprehensive action, and a statute was passed which has been justly called the foundation of the English poor laws, and which might equally well be called the cornerstone of the American poor laws. It enforced on all parishes throughout the kingdom the obligation to support the destitute. The law did not compel the parishes—which were old ecclesiastical units—to levy taxes for such support, and at first an attempt was made to secure the necessary funds through voluntary contributions. This was unsuccessful and

also unfair—as a system of voluntary charity must necessarily be—and in 1572 a law was passed which arranged for the assessment by the justices in the country, and by the mayors in the towns, of a definite sum to be paid by each householder in a parish. In order to carry this out the justices were instructed to appoint agents to collect the rates, and overseers—the identical term in common use today in many states—to distribute parish relief.

The Elizabethan Poor Law.—But the Elizabethans did not stop with relief. In 1576 another statute was enacted instructing the justices to keep in each market town a stock of wool, flax, and other material, in order to provide the poor with work for which they were to be paid; and if they refused to accept such work, then to send them to a House of Correction. The work test has thus at least the sanction of age. During the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth all of the legislation passed for the relief of poverty was reviewed and revised in the light of experience and out of this revision grew the famous Poor Law of 1601 which remained the basis of all relief in England until 1834, and which underlies most American laws. This law made the following provisions:

1. The justices of the peace are to appoint overseers from each parish, who shall include beside the church-wardens, two to four substantial householders.
2. The duties of the overseers are defined as follows:
   a. with the advice of the justices to set children to work whose parents cannot support them;
   b. to set adults to work who have no means of support;
   c. to raise weekly by taxation of every inhabitant such sums as are necessary to
      (1) obtain material for providing work;
      (2) relieve the lame, impotent, blind, and others unable to work;
      (3) place out children as apprentices.
3. The justices are empowered to levy taxes from adjoining parishes where a parish cannot afford to support its poor; the justices are given power to imprison for non-payment of tax.
4. The overseers may bind out boys as apprentices until twenty-four and girls until twenty-one or marriage.
5. Provision is made for the establishment of workhouses.
6. Appeals against assessment by the justices may be made to the next highest judicial body.
7. Finally, legal responsibility for the maintainence of parents, children and grandchildren is provided for.[1]

When it is realized that only a few score of years earlier the state

[1] Ashcroft & Preston-Thomas, *The English Poor Law System*, London, 1902 p. 7.

had assumed no responsibility at all toward the poor, it must be admitted that the age of Elizabeth had progressed far. The Elizabethan Poor Law has in its field been as potent as the plays of Shakespeare, and while it has been with justice harshly criticized, it still remains at the basis of all legal poor relief. It embodies a principle of state responsibility and a method of meeting it, both new to the nations of Western Europe. For its theoretic background one must look to classic Greece, but its practical application was left to hum-drum English justices of the peace, and the experience of town and parish officials.

Enforcement of the Law.—The central government in the days of Elizabeth not only enacted laws but saw that they were enforced. The Privy Council not merely set up machinery; it insisted that the machinery worked. The correspondence between the officers of the Council and local authorities shows that the latter were called vigorously to task when old soldiers and sailors were not adequately provided for, or were commended when they sent stubborn servants and rogues to the house of correction. Not only did the central government see to the enforcement of the law, but it took vigorous action in times of special distress: it sometimes forced employers to continue their employees at work even at a loss, justifying their stand with the statement that as the profits came mainly to the capitalists during prosperity, so the losses should be borne by them during adversity. They also took cognizance of sudden rises in the cost of provisions and attempted to supply needs through municipal and even governmental purchases. The government did not stop with trying to relieve destitution; it also tried, to quote Cunningham,

> to see, so far as possible, that the industrious man should not fall into poverty; they recognized a duty in regard to all those who were not economically independent.

Even the poor law was "spacious" in the days of Elizabeth, and while other causes helped to reduce the amount of poverty, there is no question that the definite assumption of responsibility by the state in no small measure led to the subsequent improvement in social conditions.

The Stuart Poor Law.—The seventeenth century, before the English Civil War, is the most important period for the student of American poor relief, as it was then that the colonists were leaving England to found our earliest settlements, those from which customs and statutes have been most widely copied. The American colonists had opportunity to observe the administration of the Elizabethan law at its best. The period of James I and Charles I shows a thoroughly active enforcement throughout most of England; the impotent poor

were provided for in hospitals; children were apprenticed, and work was obtained for the unemployed. Thus the colonists brought over to the New World a very definite tradition of state responsibility for the poor.

Civil War and Restoration Period.—For our purposes a brief summary of the developments since the Civil War is sufficient. The war itself played havoc with the poor relief administration. In the first place it drew off many of the administering officers. Then, as all wars do, it provided ready employment for those who might otherwise have lacked work, and that part of the administration fell into disuse, never to be fully revived in England, although the present Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance are a close approximation. The Restoration, while it brought back unemployment and on the whole a more capable local administrative service, did not restore the earlier and broader conception of the function of poor relief. The parish officials were more and more understood to be concerned simply with relief, and relief only for the most evident cases of want. The police functions in the suppression of vagabondage were stressed, but provision of employment diminished and became practically non-existent except for the "sturdy rogues" confined in the Houses of Correction, and even for them it was by no means adequate.

The lessened activity of the Privy Council left poor relief more and more in the hands of the parish officials, who generally were not disposed to give the widest interpretation to their duties. At the same time they were easily moved by evident distress among their neighbors.

The growth of manufacturing also helped at first to better the condition of the poor, as in addition to their agricultural employment it gave them a certain income from work, which in the beginning was done at home. The employer who distributed flax and wool for spinning and weaving was thought of and considered himself quite as much a philanthropist as a man of business. During the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the American colonies were beginning to need laborers, and emigration relieved poverty in the home country.

The lessened amount of poverty slowed up the improvement in the methods of caring for the poor. A law which provided that several parishes might unite to establish a poorhouse, passed in 1723, was the most notable contribution to relief, but the condition of these houses, some of which survived until 1833, was in many cases disgraceful.

Growth of Outdoor Relief.—The latter part of the eighteenth century saw a reaction against the more stringent measures of poor relief and in favor of increased outdoor relief, which finally culmi-

nated in 1795 in the famous Speenhamland system, (so called after the village in Berkshire in which the plan was worked out), by which the justices agreed to supplement the wages paid laborers by outdoor poor relief. The effects of this arrangement, which was followed almost universally throughout England, were disastrous in the extreme. It lasted well into the following century, and thus two generations of the English people were demoralized by it. To quote a Committee which investigated poor relief in 1824:

> Subsistence is secured to all; to the idle as well as to the industrious; to the profligate as well as to the sober; and so far as human interests are concerned, all inducement to obtain a good character is taken away. The effects have corresponded with the cause. Able-bodied men are found slovenly at their work, and dissolute in their hours of relaxation; a father is negligent of his children; the children do not think it necessary to contribute to the support of their parents; the employers and employed are engaged in perpetual quarrels, and the pauper, always relieved, is always discontented; crime advances with increasing boldness, and the parts of the country where this system prevails are, in spite of our gaols and our laws, filled with poachers and with thieves.[2]

It must be borne in mind, however, that the Industrial Revolution was by this time—1824—moving with increasing swiftness, bringing migration to the towns, diminution of rural domestic industries, and periodic waves of unemployment, with acute and almost universal suffering. There is no question, however, but that this abuse of the poor-law by subsidizing both the inefficient worker and the exploiting employer at the expense principally of the self-supporting farmer, was largely responsible for the horrible situation of the poorer classes so vividly depicted by Charles Dickens.

The System of 1834.—The reaction to this situation was long in coming, but when it came it was as severe as the Speenhamland system had been lax. It forbade any relief to able-bodied persons except in the workhouse, thus reënacting the ancient workhouse test. In consonance with the dominant *laissez-faire* political economy of the day it reduced all public relief, even to the ill, to a minimum, and its rigid enforcement was one of the causes which lay back of the Chartist Movement and other social disorders of the first half of the nineteenth century. One positive accomplishment was the placing of the administration of all local relief under a governmental department known as the Poor Law Board. This body standardized relief throughout the kingdom.

Not only the poorer classes, but many progressive thinkers as well, objected vigorously to the harshness of the 1834 law, but the woeful re-

[2] Reports 1824—VI-404.

sults of the Speenhamland method made the government averse to change.

Voluntary Charity.—The development of voluntary charitable associations based on the principle of cure, rather than of relief, helped to bring about a change of feeling in England. Then, too, there was a gradual loss of faith in the economic principle of *laissez-faire* which the system of 1834 had embodied. Voluntary charitable organizations in Great Britain date back at least as far as the guild organizations of the Middle Ages, and no study of charity is complete without reference to them. Most of them, however, were started to deal with a particular type of poverty. The Charity Organization Movement, initiated by Rev. Thomas Chalmers in Glasgow during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, which will be taken up later, had a marked influence on the national concept of poor relief, especially in its firm faith that charity should not be mere almsgiving, but should strive to do away with the poverty it relieved. This is what Sidney and Beatrice Webb term the *"curative principle."*

A second principle which altered the older conception was that of *universal provision*—that is "the provision by the state of particular services irrespective of destitution." [3] Parks, museums, schools, vaccination, and sanitation, are examples of such universal provisions.

A third principle which made considerable headway was that of *compulsion*—"the treating of an individual in the way the community deems best, whether he likes it or not." This, as the Webbs point out, is as old as the "Lazarhouse, Bedlam and the gaol." It played a very conspicuous part in the Elizabethan Poor Law, but in deference to *laissez-faire* philosophy, was not contemplated in the principles of 1834.

The Report of 1907.—In 1907 a Royal Commission, whose appointment was due to the pressure of reformers acting under the stimulus of these newer ideas, reported. This commission examined thoroughly the whole poor relief system of Great Britain, but unfortunately the report which it submitted was not unanimous. The majority report, while adopting many forward-looking proposals, advocated their administration by a newly created body, the Public Assistance Authorities, and left destitution still in the hands of the Poor Law authorities. In fact, as its critics have pointed out, the adoption of the majority report would only have created worse confusion in the administration of poor relief than already existed, with little change in methods. The minority report, on the other hand, went to the root of the situation and advocated the abolition of the 1834 Poor Law machinery altogether and the transfer of the functions of poor relief to various public bodies then dealing with fragments of the problems; for in-

[3] English Poor Law Policies, p. 267.

stance, the dependent children to the educational authorities; the dependent insane and feeble-minded to the lunacy authorities; the unemployed to the unemployment commissions, etc. The minority report recognized, too, the valuable functions of voluntary bodies, and elaborated a system by which pioneer tasks should be undertaken by these. This was in sharp contrast with the majority report which advocated a separation of the poor into those who should be public and those who should be private charges.

Neither report became the basis for very extensive changes, although it was confidently hoped during the years immediately before the Great War that the minority principles would be carried out in legislation. The war, however, side-tracked such legislation, and the Poor Law is administered today in much the same way as before 1907. It has been placed under the control of the Minister of Health, which was thought by many to be a step toward reducing the pauper element; indeed the act provided for the ministry's taking steps toward a revision of the law and a distribution of the burdens imposed on it. Parliament has been so busy with other matters, however, that such revision has not yet taken place.

Recent Developments.—On the other hand, there have been in recent years any number of encroachments on the field occupied by poor relief. England has led the way in Old Age Pensions, Unemployment Insurance, etc., and local authorities have done a very considerable amount in establishing clinics and hospitals which care for the sick and poor. In fact the situation today in England is more chaotic than ever, and the need for a thorough revision and logical reconstruction of the entire system of public relief and charity never was greater. Parliament has been unwilling to entrust the new functions to the Poor Law officials, and hence there have grown up alongside of them other public agencies doing much the same kind of work and dealing with the same people, all creating overlapping of the grossest type. The English situation today perhaps illustrates more clearly than the situation anywhere in America, the difficulties which must exist when poor relief is left in the hands of legislative bodies, without careful scientific analysis by experts. The result is that while a tremendous amount of work is accomplished, there is the greatest amount of overlapping and duplication of effort, and in the confusion both the recipient of relief and the tax-payer suffer.

American Poor Relief

The American system of poor relief is the lineal descendant of the English system of the time of Elizabeth. Just as the colonists coming from England in the seventeenth century brought with them religious,

political, and intellectual habits of the old country which were rapidly crystallized into institutions and legal enactments in the new, so they brought with them the spirit of the Elizabethan Poor Law.

Early Legislation.—The New England settlers, although often poor, were not paupers, and they were determined that pauperism, all too common in the old country, should not take root here. To meet any possible danger, they first of all insisted on family liability. The Massachusetts Bay settlement enacted an ordinance in 1636 to the general effect that the town officers should "order and dispose of all single persons . . . to service or otherwise," [4] and Plymouth later on made much more definite and stringent provision absolutely forbidding single persons to live by themselves or even in other families than their own without the consent of the selectmen. Although there were other reasons back of such provisions, their chief object seems to have been to secure responsibility for support. In case the head of a family was unwilling to support his dependents there is abundant evidence to show that the civil authorities were not loath to compel him to do so, even to the extent of putting him and the members of his family to service.

The Governmental Unit.—The history of poor relief is much alike in most respects throughout the colonies. One difference which has persisted down to the present day is in the governmental unit which takes the place of the English borough or parish. In New England, and the mid-western states that followed the New England model, it became the town, the smallest of the political units and the closest to the case of need. The South and most of the West, on the other hand, placed the care of the poor, as they did most other governmental functions, on the county. Both parts of the country have from time to time and often with success transferred parts of this duty to the larger unit, the state. In contrast with the English experience, however, the national government has never assumed the care of dependents, except the comparatively small number of military and naval veterans, and then only with a very limited degree of success.

Sectional Differences.—Other less specific but perhaps more important differences developed from the methods of settlement, the climatic conditions, and the early institution of negro slavery in the South. The New England settlements were distinctly localized. Towns were established by congregations and for reasons of safety as well as for adequate religious observance, settlers were forbidden to live more than a short distance from the meeting-house, which was the center of the town. This meant that all the life of the inhabitants was under the eye of the town authorities, and such poverty as there was, was known. On the other hand, the settlers in the South and West

[4] Quoted by Kelso, from *Ancient Charters and Laws of Massachusetts Bay.*

spread out over large areas and the sense of community responsibility was weakened. Then, too, the church never exercised the same parental control as in New England. The rigors of New England climate and the relative barrenness of the soil also heightened the suffering which poverty caused and made relief the more imperative. The fact that a large proportion of those who would normally have constituted a dependent class in the South were slaves, and as such directly dependent upon their masters for care, prevented the growth in the southern states of so definite a system of public poor relief as in the North. Not that a large-hearted charity did not exist in the South, but that its crystallization into definite customs and legal enactments was much more halting, and hence has exercised less definite influence on later national legislation and institutional developments.

Of all the states Massachusetts, which is the supreme example of the Puritan tradition, has been the model on which most of our progressive poor relief legislation has been built. In the field of penology the Quakers of Pennsylvania led the way, rather than the Old Testament New Englanders, but it is the latter who have the major responsibility for both the successes and the failures of American poor law legislation. Indiana and California in recent years have developed state control systems which for technical perfection are perhaps superior to that of the Bay State, but the fundamental relief policy of the country as a whole is a direct inheritance from the rigid settlers of New England. In order to get some idea of its development, then, a brief sketch of the outstanding changes in the Massachusetts system, with some attention to special developments elsewhere, will give a very fair picture of the history of the American poor relief system.

New England Thrift vs. the New England Conscience.—The English idea of public responsibility for the care of the poor, laid on the township, became the foundation of the entire poor law system of the New World. It was not a right which the recipient could sue for at law, but it was a definite obligation on the part of the community, a neglect of which on the part of the officials led to severe criticism. At the same time the officers of the township were vigorously rebuked if the expenditure for poor relief was large, and we have the situation so common to the entire history of poor relief of a conflict between the ancient and deep-seated custom of relief and the equally deep-seated thrift, not to say parsimony, of the rural land-holder. In the old country there had been great estates and comfortable squires to pay the major portion of the rates, but at first these were lacking in America. It was a conflict between the New England conscience and New England "stinginess" as a result of which "the town's poor" sometimes suffered. Yet there is much

to admire in the tenacity with which these hard-working, hard-thinking people clung to the idea of public responsibility. There is truth in Kelso's statement: [5]

> Barring Old England, with her debtors' prisons and her poor law unions, there is probably not another chapter in the annals of poverty among civilized peoples so drab and so dry of true sympathy as that of Colonial Massachusetts; nor yet a record so pregnant with the quality of justice, or so replete with those salient principles, however slowly developing, which combine in their final stage to make up the wholesome social programme among a self-governing people.

The Town's Poor.—The early government of the colonies, like that of the local officials in England itself, was paternalistic. This paternalism embraced not only the provision for cases of need, but also the prevention of "courses leading to public dependency"—a truly modern touch. The provision for need itself was generally through a system of placing out the poor with families who would agree to receive them either for the labor which they thought they could get out of them, or if their capacity as laborers was small, for the pittance which the town authorities would pay for their keep. Kelso cites numerous instances from the older town records where men, women, and children were bid off to private individuals. That the towns begrudged this payment is obvious. All sorts of practices were adopted, such as the provision of apprenticeship for lazy youths, whipping "on the naked back" of adults found idling, and above all the expulsion from or non-admittance to the town of such persons as seemed liable to become public charges. For this purpose an "avoider and keeper-out" was elected in Boston, whose business it was to see that undesirable people did not enter the town or make themselves free of its privileges. For years this struggle to keep out possible paupers persisted in the colonial towns, not to cease until the colony and later the state took over the care of all "unsettled" poor. For almost a century the larger political unit was engaged in an altogether unsuccessful attempt to keep out of its borders potential dependents, until later in the nineteenth century, and very tardily and inefficiently, the national government undertook to regulate immigration from foreign countries.

The First Almshouses.—The boarding-out system was unsatisfactory, and the New England conscience although pleased with its inexpensiveness was soon disturbed by its cruelty. Moreover, for the larger centers, where the poor were more numerous, the almshouse was soon found to be a more economical method of relief. Boston built its first almshouse in 1660, and other large towns with consid-

[5] Kelso, p. 91.

erable delay and hesitation followed this example. An intermediate step was the placement of all the town's poor with one bidder who maintained a sort of private poorhouse, with the avowed intention of making a profit either from the town grant or from the labor of the inmates. The lump-contract system did not last long. In case the poor were ill-treated the town went back to the individual placement; in case the poor were well-treated and at the same time the keeper made a profit, it was thought that the town could do the same; and the result was the almshouse.

It is not necessary here to say much about the earlier almshouses; many like them are still in existence in parts of the country.

> They admitted of slight if any separation of the sexes. They afforded no classification according to age. They housed little children with the prostitute, the vagrant, the drunkard, the idiot, and the maniac. They afforded small opportunities for occupation, especially for the wandering poor who needed it most. As a result of these vital omissions they were schools of crime—breeders of immorality and chronic pauperism.[6]

And yet for a very long period in our early history the almshouse and the jail were the only institutions through which the public provided for the needy. Every part of the union has followed this unworthy example; even yet such "community catch-alls" exist, although in the eastern states where they originated the worst abuses have been overcome.

The Province Poor.—It was through the interest of the larger political unit, first the colony and later the state, that many of the abuses of such a poor relief system were mitigated. The first public poor relief from other than the town treasury was granted in Massachusetts in 1675, when special provision was made for "such as being forced from their habitations by the present calamity . . . do repair unto them (the towns) for shelter." It was intended to meet the emergency caused by the Indian War, but like many emergency measures, it became permanent. In 1701 "provision was made for reimbursement to the towns . . . in all cases of unsettled dependent persons ill with dangerous, infectious or contagious diseases" [7] and by 1730 "the province poor," later "the state poor," became a definite class, as they have remained to this day. The fact that the state would assume the care of "wanderers, persons out of fortune, of unstable character, vagrants, and good-for-nothings" naturally made the towns less particular as to the admission of possible dependents. The duty of the town ended in seeing that such people did not secure local settlement. There were certain advantages, indeed, in keeping them

[6] Ibid. pp. 112-13.
[7] Ibid. p. 122.

in the jurisdiction, since the town was reimbursed for all expenses incurred for "state poor," and thus a portion of the state tax returned to the town.

A worse system from the point of view of civic economy can scarcely be imagined, and yet its continued existence, once inaugurated, is quite understandable. The representatives in the legislature primarily represent towns, and on the surface the towns were the gainers. With mounting costs and with continuous protests by more far-seeing legislators, and with abortive and unsuccessful attempts to stem the tide of incoming paupers through state action, the situation continued for more than one hundred years.

The State Almshouse.—It was not until 1854, when the burden had become intolerable, owing largely to the flood of Irish immigration, that Massachusetts finally took the first constructive step in the care of its poor through the erection of three state almshouses, which within a fortnight were filled to their capacity of five hundred beds each. The opening of these institutions created new problems of administration; admission and discharge became state rather than town problems, and the question of financing was important. In addition to these state almshouses, other state institutions for a specialized group of dependents, the insane, had come into being, as well as a state prison and two reform schools. In 1858 a commission was appointed "to investigate the whole system of public charitable institutions of the Commonwealth and to recommend such change and such additional provisions as they may deem necessary for their economical and efficient administration." [8] This commission called attention to the increase in the state charitable expenditure from $82,000 in 1839 to more than $300,000 in 1859; it dwelt on the fact that the program of the state institutions was not coördinated and strongly recommended the creation by law of a permanent state board of charity, and in 1863 Massachusetts inaugurated the first American State Board of Public Charities,—a board whose experience makes a noteworthy chapter in the world history of public poor relief, and which has been the chart by which practically all other American public bodies have steered their course.

The State Board of Charity.—The board was unpaid but it had the authority to employ paid agents, and was exceptionally fortunate in the character of both its members and its agents. Its first important recommendation struck the keynote for progressive public charity of the next seventy-five years, viz. classification and segregation. The old almshouse had been used for all sorts and conditions of men and women: the board proposed that the able-bodied men and women

[8] Kelso, op. cit., p. 141.

should be separated from the insane and the idiotic, and that all children should be separated from adult inmates. To accomplish the first end it recommended the setting apart of one of the state almshouses as a workhouse, and to accomplish the third, it was suggested not only that a separate institution be provided for children but that all possible children be placed in family homes. The third year of the board's existence saw a beginning made toward each of these ends; and at the same time New York, Ohio, Connecticut, and Rhode Island began consideration of similar boards.

State Supervision of Private Charity.—The State Board took another step forward, in requiring that all private charitable boards and trusts render an annual accounting to the state. The assumption is that all such trusts exist for the benefit of the public and consequently are directly accountable to the public.

Massachusetts and the Subsidy System.—The experience of Massachusetts with the system of subsidy, or state aid, to private charities also deserves special comment. The State Board early in its career embarked on a policy of subsidies to private charities, but insisted on representation on the boards of such agencies; later when new state institutions were required, these semi-public institutions became genuinely public, and the subsidy system as developed in New York and Pennsylvania never became fastened on Massachusetts. Indeed, observation of the difficulties in which the subsidy system has involved sister-commonwealths has led to a strong reaction against it in Massachusetts, so that the state constitution of 1916 provides that

> no grant . . . shall be made for the purpose of founding, maintaining or aiding any school . . . or any college, infirmary, hospital, institutional or educational charitable or religious undertaking which is not publicly owned and under the exclusive control . . . of public officers . . . authorized by the Commonwealth.

Other states have been less wise, and the entire question of public poor relief, particularly as it involves the care of children, has become a squabble for subsidies in several of them, notably Pennsylvania. Charitable and religious organizations are annual suppliants at the session of the legislature and their representatives become as adept at log-rolling as those of the other vested interests. If there is one clear moral to the history of public poor relief, it is that the grant of subsidies to private organizations, like the payment to towns for the care of the state poor, is beneficial neither to the poor nor to the state. There are many specious arguments for the system, and it has be-

come so intrenched in many places that it is difficult to overthrow, but in both principle and practice it is disastrous.[9]

Function of the State Board.—The idea of separation of functions of the various institutions with which the State Board started soon extended to the board itself. Early in its career, it had charge of public health and of the insane as well as of relief, but after a few years of this experiment, the health functions were removed and later the care of the insane and mentally defective, which were given to a separate board. The name of the board was changed in 1919 from that of State Board of Charities to State Department of Public Welfare, and in consonance with the general tendency toward consolidation it was placed under a single commissioner responsible to the governor. The unpaid advisory board was retained, however, and in addition unpaid boards of trustees administer the affairs of the five institutions which are subject to the department. In general the duties of the department consist in the supervision of the State Infirmary—a huge institution in which are gathered together a residuum of the insane, the tubercular, over a thousand aged and infirm men and women, and several hundred minors,—the state hospital school for crippled children, and three industrial schools for children (two for boys and one for girls). Moreover, it has the supervision of local poor relief and the audit of city and town claims for unsettled poor; the supervision of incorporated private charities, a partial supervision of local boards on housing and town planning; and finally, its most important function, "the care, custody, and maintenance of State minor wards." This is the phrase by which the state denotes the several thousand dependent and neglected children whom it has under care in foster homes.

Other State Boards.—The development of the poor relief system in Massachusetts has been considered in detail because it illustrates the general process of development throughout the country. Other states may be said either to have followed the example of Massachusetts, some a considerable distance behind, or else to have done little or nothing, leaving the entire administration of poor relief to be supervised by local authorities. The fact that settlement laws are either unknown or unenforced in most of the states has made the reason for state interference and ultimately state control less urgent. Indiana, among the middle-western states, has been a pioneer in the field of state supervision and control, and the history of the Indiana State Board parallels in achievement that of Massachusetts, and in some ways surpasses it, particularly in the coöperation which the State

[9] See Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency*, Chapter XV, for a complete discussion of the arguments for and against public subsidies, and for a brief summary of current opinion among social workers.

Board has rendered the local township trustees in working out constructive policies of poor relief. The coöperation of the state universities also has been an important element in the Middle West.

Types of State Boards.—The form of organization and methods of state boards vary considerably. A recent study divides [10] them into three groups; the departmental, the professional, and the lay board.

The departmental type is headed by a single commissioner or executive officer, generally appointed by the governor and responsible to him, as in the case of other departments of the state. He may or may not have an advisory board. It has the advantage of a definite fixing of responsibility, but the distinct disadvantages of being subject to political control and of becoming bureaucratic and remote both from the public whom it supposedly represents and the dependents whom it serves. Illinois is the foremost example of this type of control.

The professional board in contrast with the departmental is a "many-headed executive" whose members are chosen because they are the chiefs of certain more or less correlated services, which together go to make up the charitable functions of the state. Generally such boards are small in membership, appointed for long terms, and while the qualifications for membership vary, "the theory is that expert services shall be rendered by appointees." It also tends to bureaucracy, although the opportunities for consultation make it considerably more flexible. Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa represent this type at its best, while several other western states approach it in form and method.

The lay board is the most common type. In contrast with the others the membership in such a board is fairly large, unsalaried, and unprofessional. The fundamental idea is an interest among the people of the state in the care of their wards. Members are chosen for long terms. The executive work of such boards is entrusted to a professional executive, generally chosen by them and responsible to them. On the whole this seems the most satisfactory method, as it is less bureaucratic, less subject to political control, and tends to represent the attitude of the public at large. Its defects lie largely in the financial realm and in a lack of coöperation with other state departments. Indiana, Missouri, North Carolina, Kentucky, Maine, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and many other states have adopted this form with varying degrees of success.

Municipal Poor Relief.—Municipal poor relief, using that term to describe the system in vogue in the larger cities, has up to very recently lagged behind the ideals of the state boards. The poor department in many cities has been and still is used as a dumping-ground

[10] Willard, D. W., *State Systems of Public Welfare*, Journal of Social Forces, Sept.–Nov. 1924.

for political office-seekers, and relief itself is frequently given in return for political favors. The purchasing of supplies, a very important item, is almost entirely conducted on political rather than on economic principles. It is especially difficult to meet this situation in the poor department, as experience has condemned the purchase of supplies in bulk, and the "orders" issued to local grocers are difficult to check up. In some cities conditions during the last quarter of the nineteenth century became so bad that outdoor relief was abolished entirely, and the poorhouse became the only municipal relief center.

Recently, however, the situation in many places has distinctly improved. In some cities, the Relief or Welfare Department, as it has come to be called, has been taken out of politics entirely, technically trained workers have been employed, and the carefully worked-out technique of the private agencies has been adapted to the public service. The gradual growth of state supervision with its insistence on standards has aided this transition. The Mitchell administration in New York City attempted to make changes in this direction, and the gain thus made has not been altogether lost. Some of the western cities, among which Denver is conspicuous, have attempted with varying degrees of success a complete socialization of the public departments. On the whole, although much remains to be done, the improvement in municipal poor relief has been marked.

The smaller cities and towns in the North and East have not shown so much improvement, while the situation in the southern states is still deplorable. State boards have recently been inaugurated in the South, and the chief hope for progress lies in their efforts. The fact that so large a portion of the dependents are colored is a great difficulty. Of the southern states, North Carolina and Alabama have made the greatest advancement. In the West, particularly in Indiana and Wisconsin, the socializing process seems to have reached the towns to a considerable degree. The state boards and the extension service of the state universities have helped to popularize the idea of adequate social service in connection with a relief program.

Public vs. Private Relief.—The discussion between the advocates of public and private relief has waxed hot in the United States; so far the decision is in doubt. At present the indications are that public relief instead of giving up the field will to a very large extent adopt the policies worked out by the private relief agencies, leaving them to carry on the experimental types of work, and to initiate new enterprises.

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Most of the references in the preceding chapter dealing with conditions of poverty in England and America also cover the development of the poor

relief systems of these countries. They should be used in connection with the references given below.

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CHAPTER V

THE CENTURY OF THE CHILD

The present century has been called by some writers, notably Ellen Key, "The Century of the Child." Back of that appellation is the belief that as the eighteenth century with the American and French Revolutions was the period of the rights of man, and as the nineteenth century witnessed the progress of the rights of woman, so the twentieth century will be the period when the child will come into his own.

At present childhood is confronting serious problems, and the attempts to adjust them have as yet been singularly ineffective. However limited may have been the results attained to date, thoughtful people of the first quarter of the twentieth century have held with the Great Teacher himself that the most important thing in life is the little child. Consequently, from the point of view of social problems, it is of vital importance to consider the disabilities under which children labor in modern society, and so far as possible with the limited knowledge available to indicate the ways by which those disabilities may be removed. The usually forgiving nature of Jesus was roused to its depths by the very thought of those who offended against the little ones. Such offenses society is daily and hourly committing, sometimes inadvertently through ignorance, and sometimes wantonly through cupidity.

The Right of the Child to be Wanted.—Among the rights of childhood is the right to be wanted. Of all the tragedies of life that of the child coming undesired into a home already crowded with earlier arrivals, or unfitted economically, morally, or socially to care for him, is the worst.

Everywhere, and at all cultural stages, family limitation of some sort or other has been practised.[1] The necessity for limitation is obvious. Unregulated procreation, as Malthus pointed out over a century ago, leads to but one end—suffering and death. It is to prevent this suffering and death that family limitation, either through celibacy, continence, infanticide, abortion, or contraception, has been accepted, either openly or covertly, as a part of the mores of almost all social groups.

[1] See Carr-Saunders, *The Population Problem,* for a complete history of the varying methods of population limitation.

Added to the right to be wanted, which is a matter for the individual family, there is another right which the state ought to safeguard for its children, that is, the right to physically and morally decent parents. These two rights, which may be summed up in the phrase "to be well-born," are fundamental. The other problems of childhood—health, economic well-being, education in the home and in the school, and vocational opportunity, are dependent to a very large extent on the number of children to be cared for in the home and in the nation. Over-population for the nation spells disaster,—and over-population in the individual family home is equally fatal.

The fact that the disaster of over-population, either in the nation or in the home, has not been comprehended by the majority even of our leaders, has made it the most pressing social problem of the present day. Its pathological effects on individuals are serious enough; even more disastrous are its effects on international policy, where it is one of the chief influences toward war. The cost of armaments for real or potential wars and the cost of caring for the victims of past wars would provide many times over for the expense of all the social adjustments suggested in this book. The luxury of over-population is one which the world cannot permit to any country.

Birth-rates and Death-rates.—This subject, however, must be left to publicists and statesmen. The social worker has the not much easier task of trying to help unwanted children in the home. In the first place, a high birth-rate is the foremost cause of a high death-rate. The highest infantile death-rate on the North American continent is found in Quebec, which has also the highest birth-rate on the continent—indeed one of the highest in the world. It is said that Montreal comes second among the world's cities in its birth-rate, the first being Cairo, Egypt. The birth-rate and infant death-rate are higher among our colored population than among the native whites of native stock, and higher among the immigrants than among the native born. The connection between a high birth-rate and a high infant death-rate is obvious. Where the parents do not consider in advance and where infanticide is not permitted by law or custom, nature—"red in tooth and claw"—makes its own adjustment—an adjustment on the very lowest subsistence level and one which from the human point of view is tragically wasteful,—of health, of means, and of affection. Where these high rates prevail, neither the means of subsistence nor the physical strength of the mother is sufficient to meet the demands of the children, who must start life under a physical handicap of weakened vitality, and who end it early because they have lacked proper food, environment, and care. Either the mother is obliged to work away from home before and after the baby's arrival, or there is not money enough to buy the things needed for

health. Only at the very top of the economic ladder, where the income is sufficient to provide well-trained help, are large families possible without undue economic and physical strain: there the physical risk, although diminished, is not eliminated. In rural communities and in the early days of the country larger families were possible, but even there the frequent group of pathetic little headstones clustering around a larger one inscribed to a "good wife and mother" who died young, tells its tale. The absolute and utter wastefulness of such a method,—a wastefulness whose account is rendered in things spiritual as well as things material,—is its own indictment. A debasing of the mother sentiment is perhaps one of its worst consequences. We shall view other social maladjustments which are cruel and wasteful, but for sheer waste of everything worth while, material and spiritual, there is nothing that compares with the unnecessary waste of love and life entailed by thoughtless proliferation.

The Curse on the Living.—The tragedy is not only for those who die. For others less fortunate the result is an infancy of suffering, a childhood devoid of maternal care (for the mothers are too busy with the other children or in earning a livelihood), an education administered in the mass by a state whose main interests are military and economic, and an unsatisfied and perverted adolescence, before they again repeat the life cycle of their parents and themselves become the parents of unwanted children. It is such children who become the wards of charitable agencies or of the state, who fill our juvenile reformatories and our prisons, and enter our houses of prostitution. This is not mere speculation; anyone who doubts may read the records of social agencies, or the letters quoted by Mrs. Margaret Sänger in *Woman and the New Race.* These and hundreds of others are first-hand material; that they are typical, no social-worker will deny. Back of the maladjustments due to children's diseases, mother's employment, juvenile delinquency and dependency, lies uncontrolled fecundity.

Objections to the Limitation of Population.—Many students of social questions would agree with a great deal of what has just been said, and yet refuse to accept the conclusion. Some, a decreasing number, question the fundamental hypothesis of Malthus, and others feel, with considerable justice, that any one nation which decreases its fecundity places itself in danger from its swarming neighbors. The answer to the last contention is that the less populous nation will show an increasing prosperity and welfare which give a tremendous advantage in any struggle, and will eventually lead the more crowded country to imitation. Other opposition comes from interested sources; from militarists who believe in imperialism and conquest and want cannon-fodder; from industrialists who wish cheap labor; from socialists and communists who want class war and see that over-population with its

consequent suffering will be the quickest way to bring it about; and last of all,—and strangest of all,—from the leaders of established religions who desire large numbers to enjoy heavenly bliss rather than a smaller number to have a chance of happiness while on earth.

Methods of Limiting Population.—When we come to the consideration of the means to be used to control fecundity, however, we meet with considerable disagreement, even among thoughtful men and women. These methods can be classified under five heads; celibacy, infanticide, abortion, continence, and contraception.

Celibacy.—Celibacy, although it has strong orthodox Christian backing, is scarcely a practical method. If carried to the limit, it would not only control, but eliminate procreation altogether. When the early Christian fathers were confronted with this dilemma as a result of their teaching that celibacy was the only truly holy state, they countered it by saying, with much worldly wisdom, that so few would follow their advice that there was nothing to worry about. Unfortunately many, although not all, whom celibacy attracts are from the very best groups in society, the intellectual and spiritual leaders. It has been a great misfortune that such leaders have left behind them no descendants to carry on their qualities. On the other hand, others who are celibates from choice are deficient in the capacity for family affection and it is no loss to society if these traits are not perpetuated. But with all due respect to certain social gains which celibacy has made possible, as a preventive of over-population, it has been and will be of no practical value.

Abortion and Infanticide.—Abortion and infanticide may be grouped together in the discussion of adjustments that society has used to meet its problem of over-population, either national or familial. As Carr-Saunders points out, both have been extremely widespread as a means of keeping the population within the limits of subsistence. Of the two, infanticide—the slaying of infants at birth or within a very short time afterwards—is almost certainly the more primitive, and is probably the more widespread. Abortion, the destruction of life in the fœtus, requires more knowledge of physiology and comes later, although not late, in civilization. In the ancient Mediterranean world both infanticide and abortion were common. Greek and Roman parents were allowed to expose or destroy their children under certain conditions, and infanticide was one of the evils against which the early Christian church waged relentless warfare. Both methods are employed today even in civilized countries, although direct infanticide is far less used than formerly and is universally viewed with abhorrence.

Abortion, on the other hand, while contrary to law, is popular in Western Europe and America—probably more in America than in any

other country, owing to our laws against contraception. Since it is illegal, statistics cannot be gathered, but competent physicians place the number of abortions in the United States in the hundreds of thousands each year. Both abortion and infanticide are cruel and utterly wasteful. Abortion is in some respects even more objectionable than infanticide, although society condones the one, while violently condemning the other. Not only does it destroy the life of the unborn babe, but it also threatens the life and health of the mother, who in many cases is filling a most important place in society as wife, and mother to other children. Even the most skilled abortionists do not under-rate the risks, and the abortions usually performed are not skilled operations. The expense involved is also no unimportant item. There is little question but that society is absolutely justified in the hostile attitude which it has taken, through legislation at least, to both of these practices. Unfortunately, until recently, society has had no practical alternative to offer, and abortion has received a sort of quasi-approval.

Continence.—Continence, which as generally used in this connection means sexual relations for the purpose of procreation only, is an adjustment frequently suggested as the proper one to combat over-population. If such continence were possible for any large number of people—as it is unquestionably possible for some—it would be a valid adjustment. Physical and psychological factors enter in, however, which make such an attitude on the part of most married couples practically impossible. Attempts to secure it lead frequently to mental and physical breakdown and sometimes to an illicit gratification of the normal sexual desire which brings ill-health and moral debasement in its train. When it is realized that a single act of sexual intercourse in a year might conceivably mean from eighteen to twenty-four births per family, the impracticability of continence for most individuals is manifest. A modified form of continence which permits sex relations only during a specified safe period has been suggested, but modern gynecology as well as experience have shown that there is no universally safe period. Consequently continence, although less anti-social than the other forms of birth-control so far cited, must like them be discarded.

Contraception.—The last method is what is known as contraception; the use by either man or woman of some device by which the union of the ovum and sperm cell is prevented. That such means exist, is known to almost everyone; what they are, federal laws in the United States forbid saying. Their use allows the normal and natural sex relationship to exist between married people without the imminent danger of bringing unwanted children into the world. That there are such methods, the experience of the more educated classes, who

gain access to such information, proves. In other countries than our own, they are prescribed by the medical profession, and in the Netherlands particularly, the entire national birth-rate, and also the national well-being, has been changed by their use. The experience of birth-control clinics in foreign countries and in our own shows that such methods are obtainable, that they are practically harmless, and that they are generally effective. While the use of contraceptives is discountenanced by many as immoral, it is unquestionably becoming more and more widespread in all classes of society.

The possibilities of contraception have been developed only during the last half-century, although something was known of contraceptive methods for many hundreds of years before. Recently, however, both medical and social science have given the matter considerable attention, and in many of the western European countries, notably England, Holland, and Austria, free birth-control clinics for working people have been opened and from these experimental data have been secured. In the United States, through the efforts of Anthony Comstock, a federal law was passed in 1873 making the dissemination of contraceptive advice "obscene," and consequently birth-control has labored under great difficulties in this country. Many of the states have similar laws and in some even the giving of such advice by physicians is unlawful. In other states, notably New York, physicians may give such advice and several birth-control clinics where such advice may be given have been opened.

A strong effort is at present being made to do away with our antiquated legislation on this subject and to render contraceptive information available to those who need it. In England a movement is under way for the government to give contraceptive advice in its own pre-natal clinics, and it bids fair to succeed. The English support for the movement is of the highest, embracing many of the notable members of the clergy of the Established Church, of whom Dean Inge of St. Paul's is the leader, eminent scientists such as Karl Pearson, Havelock Ellis, the late Professor Bateson, and others, and such literary men and publicists as Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, and Arnold Bennett. France, until a few years ago, had no laws prohibiting contraceptive information, and as a matter of fact the French people, as their birth-rate shows, have for a long time practised birth-control. Alarmed by the falling birth-rate, the government has recently passed legislation making the giving of such advice a crime. A large section of French public opinion is against the law, however, and reports from France make it out to be largely a gesture to conciliate the militarists and the churchmen.

The opposition in every country is led by the church, which gives as its ostensible reason the danger to morality. Although this op-

position is not dying out, public interest in the question is being fostered by open discussions of the population question, nationally and internationally, and also by the growing prominence of women in public life. That there is a certain danger to sex morality in the public knowledge of contraceptive devices, is obvious; but the danger is by no means equal to that which affects national welfare and individual happiness through uncontrolled fecundity. Then, too, most immoral people (unless feeble-minded) get information; it is the respectable married people who do not. Of all the social adjustments discussed in this book, that of birth-control through contraception is in every way the most fundamental; without it most of the others will be useless or at the best merely palliatives. With it, society can increasingly turn its attention to other problems without the feeling that at any moment all its steps forward will be negated by its swarming progeny. An over-populated nation or an over-populated family group can at the best simply struggle for survival. A nation or a family whose numbers are intelligently limited can devote itself to adjustments of its outstanding social wrongs and to the cultural advances which alone set off man from the beasts that perish.

The State and the Birth-rate.—In the limitation of the birth-rate, as discussed so far, the obligation of the state consists merely in the negative one of non-interference. The advocates of birth-control do not maintain that the state should compel anyone to practise their principles; they believe that the advantages of small families are so obvious that self-interest and prudence alone will suffice to guarantee their limitation. That such a feeling is not too optimistic, experience seems to prove. The falling birth-rate among our immigrants of the second generation—particularly among the Irish, who in spite of their Catholic faith are little behind the native-born in limiting their families—is especially significant.

In addition to this purely negative attitude on the part of society, however, there is a positive step which the state must take if one of the most serious of social maladjustments is to be avoided, viz., the propagation of the mentally—and to some extent the physically—defective. For the defective, there is little if any hope in birth-control methods. They have not enough intelligence or foresight to see the advantages of family limitation. Consequently it is the duty of the state to see that those who cannot be trusted to care for themselves in this respect are prevented, in one way or another, from peopling the world with their own kind. For many of the physically defective and some of the mentally diseased as well, particularly those with taints of insanity and epilepsy, contraceptive knowledge will probably be sufficient. This will enable them to marry, if otherwise desirable, without the danger of passing on their unfortunate heredity.

In the main it will be the feeble-minded, and particularly those of the criminal and pauper types, with whose procreation the state will have to interfere. Many states have done this in an ineffective way already through laws prohibiting the marriage of the defectives, but this is not enough. Their very mental defect makes them less regardful of marriage formalities than other members of the community. One of the writer's first experiences in social work was to procure almshouse care for an unmarried, feeble-minded woman of thirty who was about to bring into the world her seventh child. In such cases, the law should provide for sterilization in order to protect the individual as well as the state. Naturally, such a drastic measure should not be undertaken without careful medical, psychological, and social inquiry. The heredity should be investigated, the mental characteristics studied, and a medical-social board of experts should pass on each case. In some states laws have been enacted—but in most cases they are unenforced—providing sterilization for certain crimes. This leaves the decision largely to judge and jury—neither of whom have the requisite type of training. Through recent developments in medical science, sterilization for either male or female is no longer a serious or painful operation and it involves practically no risk. Today a simple operation known as vasectomy absolutely sterilizes the individual without interfering with the exercise of the natural functions. If and until such action can be taken, institutions should be provided by the state, at least where feeble-minded women can be kept during the child-bearing period. The necessity for some such measure ought to be evident on the face of things—but it will be realized more keenly perhaps after the more detailed discussion of feeble-mindedness in a later chapter.

It is impossible for the state directly to do much more than provide against the multiplication of defectives; indirectly, through education and encouragement, it can do much to encourage the production of the fit. With free access to knowledge regarding birth-control on the one hand, and strict prohibition of the multiplication of defectives, either through segregation, or better still through sterilization, on the other, society will have done its duty to the unborn and to its future citizens. It will still have many problems to face, but at any rate it will have made a splendid beginning toward remedying that most unfair of all maladjustments—a hopeless or handicapped start in life.

Health and Childhood

The problems of physical well-being are of paramount importance in childhood; it is during the first years of life that the struggle for

mere existence is the hardest, and the years that immediately follow, although less critical, have a tremendous influence in determining future vitality.

Pre-natal Clinics and Maternity Hospitals.—The adjustments which society is attempting to make are mainly in the field of health. They begin even before birth. Medical science, while disproving the old idea of pre-natal impressions, has convincingly shown that careful attention to health during pregnancy and confinement is essential both for the mother and for the child. As a result of this demonstration, pre-natal clinics have been opened in most cities where free advice and assistance is offered to expectant mothers, and the standard of hospital care for confinement cases has been greatly raised. The licensing of midwives and the provision of child-welfare nurses has also come under the control of public authorities, so that today the mothers and babies even of the poorest classes get medical care which the very wealthiest could not obtain a half-century ago. Indeed so extensive have been the efforts in this direction that frequently the very poor get better medical service than the middle class.

The inspection and control of lying-in hospitals is a very important item in any program of child health, not only from the standpoint of health, but also from the necessity of accurate registration of births. The tendency among all groups in society is to insist on hospital care for confinement, although among the poor, especially foreigners, there is much sentimental objection, and among the middle class the expense of the kind of care that they feel they ought to have is frequently excessive. On the whole, however, the danger to both mother and child during child-birth is infinitely less than was formerly the case, and the number of babies who die at birth is rapidly decreasing.

Child Welfare Centers.—In addition to medical assistance to expectant mothers, most progressive nations and communities have adopted a program, supported either by public taxation or by private charity, or frequently by a combination of both, of careful inspection and assistance to mothers during the early years of their children's lives, particularly during the first year when the danger is the greatest. Although much of this work is medical in nature, it is also distinctly social, and the tendency more and more is to place such efforts under educational or social-work departments rather than under departments of health. Such centers vary, but in the main they serve three functions:

(1) The provision of a clean, wholesome milk supply gratis, or at a moderate cost;

(2) The provision of baby clinics at which expert medical and nursing service is provided;

(3) The provision of a service of nurses, dietitians, and social workers who visit the homes and help to see that the instructions given by the doctors in the clinics are carried out.

Most centers started out as (1) and (2) but the necessity for the third function has become obvious. The problems involved in infant health are generally quite as much economic or social as they are medical or educational, and only a social worker actually in the homes can help the parents to solve them.

An increasing number of such centers are maintained by public authorities, but they were generally started as departments of social settlements or of a privately supported association, and many continue as private charities. In this field as in others, it is generally these private ventures which are doing the experimental work, while the public agency is taking over more and more of the standardized service.

Health Work in the Schools.—Only within recent years has the school recognized the necessity of caring for the bodies as well as the minds of its pupils, but today in most large centers and in many rural districts health-education has become an important part of the school curriculum. School physicians and nurses are required by many states, and in some communities they give far more than routine examination of the pupils. Especially is this true where nurses and visiting teachers are employed to follow up the reports of the doctor and the class-room teacher. The school-room itself and the building and its surroundings have become far more healthful under the pressure of this new interest, and the health education program has permeated the home also. Such work is only in its beginning; far too many school systems are still in the routine examination stage, and no health system will accomplish very much that depends solely on a part-time physician and the fag-end of the teacher's day.

In addition to the purely physical health, the school health program should devote more time and effort than heretofore to problems of mental hygiene. All towns having school enrolments of a thousand or over should either maintain a mental hygiene clinic for their school children, or make arrangements so that the children should receive the service of some clinic already in operation. These clinics are not only for the study of mental defectives only or even of delinquent or pre-delinquent cases; particularly intelligent children, or children with a special inaptitude for one subject, or those who present any problem whether of attitude or intelligence, might well benefit by the services of the psychiatrist and social worker who make up the staff of the ordinary mental hygiene clinic. It may be Utopian, but it would certainly be worth while, if all the children in school were not only mentally tested from time to time, but were sent for routine examinations to the mental hygiene clinics. All sorts of conflicts and

inhibitions would be unearthed which could be cleared up in childhood, and would not remain hidden to vex and disturb the adolescent and the adult. Ideally this service should commence even before the school age, but if that is impractical, from the kindergarten on the mental hygiene service should be one of the most important rendered by the school to its pupils. Psychology is the science of behavior; and what is education but training in behavior? Hence it is to applied psychology that the school must look for criticism and the pupil for help. In specialized cases such as those of the dependent and neglected child, the defective, the delinquent, and the abnormal in general, this service has been highly developed, but for the normal child it has so far been but little applied. The normal child suffers apparently as does his father, the famous "forgotten man" of William Graham Sumner, while the abnormal and particularly the sub-normal receive most of the benefits which the natural and social sciences have to offer.

Education

This is not the place to discuss the maladjustments, or the adjustments either, which characterize formal education. Although education is most emphatically a social matter, it has developed a technique and a critical literature of its own which cannot be summarized here. The particular maladjustments to which both educators and social workers are calling attention at present are three in number: *the lack of attention to the physical needs of childhood, the lack of application of modern psychology,* and finally *the regimentation of the school system itself.* The first two have been briefly discussed above.

The third fault is as important from a social as from an educational point of view. Individuality is to a very large extent taboo in our schools, especially in the large city systems. The number of pupils per teacher, the limited school accommodations, and above all the greater ease with which a standardized, mechanical system can be controlled from the top, have all led to conditions in which the "system" has outranked the "school" in importance. While unquestionably there is a value in centralized control, while undoubtedly it brings up to a minimum standard certain communities and sections which would otherwise fall below, education for life cannot be administered in the mass. Education, as the progressive educators and the psychologists see it, is individual, and when mechanized and made a matter of routine, instead of being socially beneficial it becomes sterile for most pupils, and soul-destroying for many. Unquestionably the lack of properly trained teachers, the fact that political considerations are often more important than educational ability,

and above all the stultification and narrowness of the aims of education on the part of many parents, school-boards, and teachers alike, have produced the present unhealthy situation. The American people have a profound faith in education, a faith which as yet does more credit to their hearts than to their heads. Standardization and quantity production which have increased the output in industry are assumed to have the same magic properties in training the young. We are beginning to see, however, that education is an art, not an industry, and that the same spirit of individualization which animates the artist should animate the educator. Some private schools and a few experimental public schools are making practical protest against the routine nature of most of our education. These schools not only give attention to the physical and mental health of the child but are endeavoring to adapt their training to the child, rather than to force the child to adapt himself to the school. The advantages of such a plan are obvious to all but the older type of school administrator. The teacher who administers it must be a genuine educator,—a leader, not a driver. In addition to the beneficial effects on both child and teacher, moreover, there is a tremendous saving in the child's time and the state's money. The child can go ahead or remain behind as suits his own ability; the pupils with real ability will not be delayed by the mass drag, nor will the dull student be forced ahead faster than his mind can carry him.

Vocational Training.—In addition to this general change of method, the newer education, thanks to its use of psychology, can give its pupils real help toward finding a vocation; the schools will know something of their aptitudes and their background, and not attempt to train everybody either for the university or for the mastery of a handicraft. The growth of vocational training in the schools has been phenomenal, but so far it has had a limited usefulness because of its emphasis on the purely mechanical; agriculture, the arts, and the professions should receive consideration as well as cooking, carpentry, and mechanics. The social case-work method, which will be studied in some detail later, should find a field ripe for the harvest in connection with vocational guidance.

Training for avocations as well as for vocations should also become a part of the school system; interest in nature, in drama, poetry, art, and the other things that make life worth while, are being stressed in some schools, but they should be recognized in all. Athletics and physical exercise have entered the school system to stay, and recreation has become part and parcel of the progressive education movement, but other avocations of life should have an equally important place. It has been largely left to such organizations as the Boy Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls and Nature Study Clubs to meet these

needs. We are coming to realize that as the hours of labor are shortened, it is almost as important to train people for leisure as for work.

Training for Citizenship.—Closely allied to this development is the conviction that the schools should train for citizenship. The social sciences, except history and a moribund "civics," have been left for the higher educational institutions; yet the great majority of our prospective citizenry never see the inside of a college. Hence the demand coming from both parents and teachers that emphasis in the grades should be placed on subjects such as economics, sociology, and government, which deal with man in his relationship to society. This demand also includes a vitalizing of history, which in the forward-looking schools is no longer a dull procession of names and dates of battles, kings, presidents, and dead-and-gone political issues, but an attempt to show how things as they are came to be; that the past is not dead, but that it lives in each one of us and in every aspect of our lives.

Handicaps to Socialized Education.—Other developments in socialized education must be passed over rapidly. In spite of the opposition of the older type of school committee, school teacher, and not least important janitor, they are making headway, and their achievements are being chronicled in a host of books and especially in the educational journals. The one drawback to much of this progress is that educators too frequently make such changes because they wish to be in fashion, not because they understand and sympathize with the new developments. When this is the case, and when the changes are made without coöperation with other social efforts in the community, the success attained is sometimes so slight as to discourage progress altogether. But such setbacks are merely local and temporary.

The Visiting Teacher.—Perhaps the most hopeful sign of coöperation is in the visiting teacher movement. This is a very recent development, dating back in the United States only to 1906. A similar movement started in England at about the same time. It is the task of the visiting teacher to make the aims of education clear in the homes of the pupils, to supplement the work of the teacher, the nurse, and the attendance officer, and above all to make a link between the school and the community. Often the visiting teacher can bring about the adjustment for lack of which the child has been suffering. That failure in adjustment may be either in the home or in the school; even if it is in the school it can often be found out only by coöperation with the home or with other social agencies. The visiting teacher's tasks are multitudinous; questions of leaving school, family quarrels which affect the child's attitude, dislike of sections

of the curriculum, arranging payment for crackers and milk for undernourished children, and sex and moral problems that probe the very depths of human nature and of social resources, are part of the grist which comes to her mill. The number of visiting teachers is still comparatively small and the service is chiefly confined to the larger cities and their environs. The expense of the visiting teacher is one obstacle, and another is the lack of comprehension of her tasks on the part of most teachers and superintendents. Even when schools have a visiting teacher many do not know how to use her; her technique, too, that of the case-worker dealing with individuals and families, is sometimes difficult to harmonize with that of the class-room teacher whose misfortune it has been to consider education a mass affair. The movement is growing, however, and in its growth lies a more effective educational service for problem children, and a needed link between the school and other social agencies.

The New "Truant Officer."—Until very recently the "truant officer" has been a bugaboo used by teachers and parents alike to frighten the young. He was a member of the police force and had little knowledge of education. Recently a change has come over the conception of the task; not infrequently the police function is entirely withdrawn and an attitude of conciliation and help replaces that of coercion. In some more advanced communities a woman social worker is used instead of the old-time male police official, and the case-work method instead of the threat of court and the reform school.

The School Age.—A modern tendency which is more open to doubt is the constant raising of the school age. There is no question that a minimum requirement, preferably corresponding to the child labor laws, should be enacted and *enforced,* but the efforts made, especially in the more progressive states, to boost the age of compulsory attendance in the ordinary schools are, it seems to the writer, open to criticism on both educational and economic grounds. Where schools are provided which give training in the trades and occupations the objection to raising the attendance age is not so great, but there is a very grave question whether ordinary school education is what the individual of low-grade intelligence needs, say between fourteen and sixteen. Many such children are a burden to the school and an expense to the community and to their families, when with proper effort at vocational guidance they might be self-supporting and happier and more useful in industry. On the other hand, the money which forces education on them might be much better used in providing opportunities for advanced training for those of marked intellectual ability. This again is the fault of our educational system; it considers people in mass rather than as individuals.

The Expense of Socialized Education.—This leads logically to the question of expense,—undoubtedly the great objection to many of the educational and health adjustments suggested. They will cost money, but education and health are bound to cost money. They cost money today. And while undoubtedly certain of the changes suggested will mean considerably increased expenditure at first, the greater returns on the money already spent will more than repay the outlay. With education as with any other investment the money should be so spent that all of it will yield the best returns. This is far from the case now. Small school units instead of larger community units are maintained, particularly in rural sections, when the larger unit would yield far more effective service. Children are taught in school buildings improperly lighted and ventilated, and teachers are driven to the verge of nervous breakdown in attempting to drill the three R's into children whose own physical or mental state is such that they cannot learn. If education and health cost money, in the long run ignorance and disease cost far more. A system of education which would decrease crime, industrial inefficiency, and unhappiness would be a good business proposition. And the interest it would yield in social well-being cannot be estimated.

The Training of Educators.—For most of the adjustments in education, the state and the nation must in the long run look to the educators. Much of the responsibility for educational adjustments and maladjustments alike must be placed on the institutions which educate the educators. The normal schools, and to a lesser degree, the colleges and universities, have a tremendous duty in this respect. Too many of them leave outside the curriculum all consideration of the social significance of the school. The background of society, the family, the social maladjustments, and the efforts which are being made outside the school to meet the problems of society, are scarcely considered in many normal schools. Sociology, the science of society, either applied or pure, is occasionally smuggled in, but it has to be sanctified with the adjective "Educational" before it can pass the portals. If the teacher is to function properly with either normal or abnormal pupils, she should receive a thorough grounding in the essentials of social and economic history and social theory and practice. Child psychology has against some odds made its way into pedagogical training, but that is not enough. Even at the sacrifice of educational technique, if necessary, an attempt should be made to present to the future teacher as complete a picture as possible of the social forces which go to make up the society in which she is to function as leader and director, and the problems which she must face. Aside from the fundamental and far-reaching, but slow effects of birth-control and

conscious eugenic selection, it is to education that we must look, not only for the improvement of the child, but for the salvation of society.

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CHAPTER VI

THWARTED CHILDHOOD

Some of the problems which surround the average child have just been discussed; in the following sections more attention will be given to socially pathological types. It is difficult to draw lines, here as elsewhere; all children, as all adults, are occasionally abnormal, and all at times present pathological problems. Nevertheless, it seems possible to distinguish as socially pathological certain conditions which, although only too common, are yet not in the experience of the normal child. The maladjustments to be discussed include the following: the Dependent Child; the Neglected Child; the Illegitimate Child; the Juvenile Delinquent; and the Child Worker.

The Dependent Child

It is often difficult to draw the line between dependent and neglected children; a child may be both dependent and neglected, and there are border-line cases which it is impossible to classify. The essential conditions are so distinct, however, that it is worth while to attempt to distinguish the two situations.

Definitions of Dependency.—The Connecticut Commission on Child Welfare has rendered a real service in defining these terms. The first is defined as follows:

> A dependent child is a child whose home is a suitable place for such child save for conditions arising from the poverty of its parents, parent, or guardian, but who, solely because of the poverty of its parents, parent, or guardian, is in need of care.[1]

This is a very limited definition, but any child who comes under the terms of it is definitely *dependent,* and there are many such. In order to meet the border-line cases the commission added to the two general classes a third group, the *uncared-for children,* among whom it recognized three groups:

(1) a child who is homeless, or whose home is unsuitable due to death of parent, parents or guardian.
(2) a child who is homeless because of the fact that the persons liable for his support are inmates of charitable, humane, remedial or penal institutions.

[1] Quoted by Gesell, *The Pre-School Child,* Boston, 1923, p. 131.

(3) a child who cannot be cared for in his own home, because of the physical or mental infirmity of parents or guardian, and who may not lawfully support himself.

For legal purposes this distinction is admirable, but for the purposes of discussion here it will suffice to consider both dependent and uncared-for children under the general caption of dependent.

Number of Dependent Children.—It is very difficult to get any satisfactory data as to the number of dependent children. The Census Bureau simply gives the number in orphanages and children's homes, but that is frequently misleading. On the one hand, this does not include the large number of dependent children kept in their own homes through mother's aid or similar public or private assistance, or partially dependent children cared for by day-nurseries; nor does it separate the neglected and delinquent children, on the other. That the number of dependent children is large, however, is evident from the figures of the recent (1925) Child Welfare League Survey which showed 205,000 children cared for in institutions or by children's agencies in the United States.

Economic Immorality and Child Dependency.—A previous chapter gives the reasons for poverty, of which child dependency is only a part—but perhaps the most pathetic part. Where both parents are living and in good health, the principal causative factor is what Professor Fairchild calls "economic immorality," viz., the paying of a wage insufficient to maintain a decent standard of living. In such a case the only satisfactory adjustment is the application of such pressure, either by the state or by labor unions, as will guarantee a living wage. Public opinion condemning industries and employers who do not pay a living wage is also a great lever in the right direction, and publicity of wages paid in "sweated industries" is a tremendous force in forming the right sort of public opinion. The cases which would come under this classification ought not to receive aid either from the state or from private charitable organizations. Such aid is simply a revival, under modern conditions, of the old Speenhamland system by which subsidies were paid out of the public taxes. Many private organizations which accept children without adequate investigation, or like the charitably-supported day-nurseries, make it easy for a mother who ought to be kept busy at home with her young children to work and thus supplement the husband's wage, are violating this fundamental canon of effective social service.

In justice to the employer it ought to be said that this rule should be held to apply only to the physically and mentally healthy wage-earner, able to give a *quid pro quo* for the living wage which he gets. In addition, the living wage should be based on the needs of a medium-

sized family. Industry cannot be expected to pay all its workers on the basis of the family of ten or a dozen children. If the state instituted a eugenic policy, as suggested in the preceding chapter, the mentally defective would have no children to become dependent, and a free dissemination of birth-control information would do much to limit the family whose needs the just wage of the father could not meet. In the meantime, both types of maladjustments exist, and all that the social agency can do, aside from clamoring for reform, is to see that the children of the defective are so cared for that they, at least, will not bring forth after their kind, and to use every effort that the wage-earner of the over-sized family shall receive all that he earns.

Poor Health of Parents.—In many other cases the prime cause of child dependency lies in the ill-health of one or both parents. The reasons for this can best be considered in the chapter dealing with the sick poor, and the preventives and adjustments necessary are concerned with the parents rather than with the children. Where the disease is infectious, precautions must of course be taken, and sometimes the children have to be removed from their homes, frequently temporarily, and sometimes permanently. The health element will have to be considered in such cases as well as the purely economic or social. The tendency on the part of many health specialists, however, is to see only the health aspect, and not to make any attempts at adjustment in the home. An ailing mother or father, taking proper precautions, is generally to be preferred to an institution. In these cases the "case-work" method is eminently desirable. Each situation must be treated on its own merits, and education and assistance in the home should be emphasized rather than the simpler, but far more socially dangerous method—for the child at least—of institutional care.

Widowhood and Dependency.—By far the most common cause of dependency, particularly of complete dependency, is the death or utter incapacity of one or both parents. Widows and orphans have constituted social problems from the dawn of history, and while widowers with children have figured less, that is probably because they have found it easier to remarry. It is the experience of social workers that widowers with children are in many respects even more of a problem than widows, but generally their problems are those of neglect rather than of dependence.

The Full Orphan.—The loss of both parents—that is, complete orphanage—is a relatively rare condition. Studies of institutions which claim to take orphans always show that unless there is a provision in the charter that only whole orphans shall be admitted the proportion of such true orphans is very small, and if such a provision is actually lived up to, the applications for admission are few.

A recent study made for the National Social Conference of the Protestant Episcopal Church showed only fourteen full orphans per hundred in a census of a large number of so-called orphan asylums. For the vast majority of true orphans, relatives and friends are found, and they constitute a comparatively small social problem. The function of society in regard to most orphans is legal rather than social, and this function is in most countries performed with a remarkable degree of thoroughness and care. In this country orphans are wards of the state, which exercises its jurisdiction through the probate courts. Where orphans are left dependent, with no relatives or friends, it becomes the task of society through either public or private agencies to provide for their care and upbringing. Their problem then becomes similar to that of other dependent and neglected children who for one reason or another have no home.

The Abandoned Child.—Although not necessarily an orphan—indeed generally not one at all—the abandoned child presents many similar characteristics. The task before society in this case is first to see that the abandonment of children is made as difficult as possible, and second, when it has occurred, to make every effort to trace the delinquent parent and see whether anything can be done to keep parent and child together. This situation we shall discuss at greater length under the section on the illegitimate child, as the majority of abandoned children are illegitimate. There are two institutions, however, which encourage abandonment both of legitimate and illegitimate children which may be dealt with here: the "orphanage" which accepts children with little or no inquiry, and the so-called "baby-farm" or unsupervised and badly conducted boarding-home for infants.

The Foundling Hospital.—The institution which above all others encourages abandonment is the *foundling hospital.* Under the old régime in France and in French Canada the situation was simple in the extreme. At the front door was a double revolving cradle; anyone wishing to leave an infant placed it in the cradle, pushed the cradle inside the door, thus bringing the other, empty cradle, out pulled the bell and went away. While this barefaced abandonment has been generally done away with as contrary to public policy, similar methods, only not quite so obvious, exist in many foundling hospitals both in Europe and America. Many ask but few questions and take the word of the person bringing the child without any investigation. The existence of such places is known, and people come from long distances to place their unwanted children in their care. The following statement made in the 1919 edition of Warner's *American Charities* is unquestionably still true:

> Perhaps a majority of foundling hospitals in the United States make no adequate investigation and keep no record of the parentage of the children.

Public Control of Admissions.—As every large city has at least one orphan asylum, and often three—Protestant, Catholic and Jewish—the situation is serious. Other children's institutions are also frequently lax in investigation and record keeping. In this respect the public institutions are far superior to the private, especially where the private receive state subsidies based on the number of inmates, and consequently benefit by increased numbers. In order to meet this situation, legislation should be enacted requiring definite information to be secured by each children's institution—whether receiving public aid or not—in regard to each applicant for admission, and penalizing institutions which accept inmates without investigation or who are not in need of care. The various state boards of public welfare should be empowered to inspect the records of the institutions and pass on the legitimacy of the admissions. In states giving subsidies, the aid could be withheld if there were cases that did not meet the standard, and in all states power should be given to close improperly managed institutions, as a menace to public morality in the largest sense.

The Baby-farm.—The *baby-farm* might perhaps more consistently be discussed along with the neglected child; but it is convenient to consider it in connection with orphan asylums and foundling hospitals,—all, it must be admitted, difficult to classify. Baby-farming is commonly thought of as running a business of boarding infants for profit. Kelso defines it in a far more forceful manner as

> "essentially the bribing of unprincipled traffickers in childhood to dispose of the little one for a fee without further responsibility to the principal." [2]

It has existed in the most flourishing civilizations, and to quote Kelso again:

> The greater the degree of crowding and activity in urban communities, the greater becomes the tendency to break over the bounds of domestic conventions, with the result that there are more illegitimates, and what is far worse, more little waifs legitimately born, disposed of because of poverty or the morbid love of social pleasure of their parents.[3]

The horrors of this situation were made manifest in 1925 through disclosures in regard to a certain baby-farm in New York City where the district attorney's office claimed that twenty-two infants had died during a period of fifteen months. Not only that, but babies were sent out of town, their identifications were exchanged or lost, and they could not be traced. All this was in spite of the law that requires a licensing of such houses by the local health boards. In connection with this investigation it was stated that there were from ten

[2] Kelso, op. cit., p. 186.
[3] Ibid. p. 187.

to fifteen such farms in and around one small city in the northern part of the state with whom the New York "farmer" had relations. Other recent investigations of baby-farms read like chapters from Dickens. For instance, Professor Gesell of Yale quotes [4] an investigator's story of one woman who unassisted "took care" of thirteen children under seven years of age, most of them infants.

> They all looked pale and undernourished. Their arms and legs were soft and flabby. All were drenching wet and dirty. . . . Under the sink in the kitchen was a large pile of soiled diapers. On the drain board were two rows of nursing bottles and nipples not yet washed. . . . There is one small attic room and here all the little beds have been arranged. . . . Many of Mrs. B.'s children are deserted by their parents after a year or so and Mrs. B. has undertaken to place these children in homes for adoption. She never hesitates to take a baby under any condition. . . . *Mrs. B. makes it easy for a woman to relieve herself of the responsibility of providing for her own child* by offering to clothe it and assuring the mother that she can find good homes if she cannot support the baby."

That is,—if the baby is unfortunate enough to survive Mrs. B.'s treatment.

State Control of Baby-farms.—It may be that there is a legitimate place for the "baby-farm"; certainly family homes which board children under the auspices of careful public and private agencies are desirable. But as to the continuance of the ordinary type without more control than is exercised at present, there can be no two ways of thinking. Supervision by local boards of health is not enough. Massachusetts provides that:

> "whoever for hire, gain or reward has in his custody . . . at one time two or more infants under the age of two years unattended by parent or guardian, except infants related to him by blood or marriage" shall be deemed to maintain a boarding house for infants." [5]

Such boarding-houses are placed under the supervision of the State Board of Public Welfare and all persons *placing* or *receiving* children are obliged to notify the State Board. The board has a staff of trained social workers and physicians, who not only look after the health conditions in the home but investigate each case from the social point of view. It will be noted that this is not left to local authorities, and on the whole the baby-farms in Massachusetts are well conducted. Also they are comparatively few in number. If baby-farms must exist, such stringent state control, which takes into account the social factors, particularly the question of admission, as well

[4] Gesell, *The Pre-School Child*, pp. 139–141.
[5] Kelso, op. cit., p. 187.

as the moral and hygienic conditions, is essential. The control must be administered by trained social workers and backed up by effective legislation with teeth. Otherwise the state is guilty of encouraging not only abandonment but often the most cruel and abusive treatment.

Child Dependency, Widowhood, and Desertion

The majority of dependent children in the United States are, almost certainly, the children either of widows or of deserted wives. Although the causes that bring about widowhood and desertion are quite different, the results so far as the children are concerned are similar. Both leave to the mother the entire care not only of making the home but of securing the income as well.

Owing to the incidence of certain diseases, particularly tuberculosis, which attacks men in the prime of life, and of industrial accident, the number of married men with young children who die each year is very large—much larger than it need be. The result in many cases—at least in the wage-earning group and often in higher economic groups—is that the widow finds it imperative to turn to public or private relief for assistance; in many cases, at least in the past, she has been obliged to relinquish her children to institutions or child-placing agencies for care.

The White House Conference.—The White House Conference called by President Roosevelt crystallized what for some time had been the attitude of progressive social workers throughout the country, and throughout the world for that matter—viz., that children should not be separated from their mothers on the ground of poverty alone. This pronouncement applied particularly to the children of widows, who, owing to what one writer calls an "ominous growth of institutionalism in the United States . . . during the past century," were being taken from their homes and placed in institutions. In fact, this used to seem, and to many still seems, the immediate resource for helping widows and orphans.

Widows' Pensions.—Since 1900, when the feeling was that provision should be made through private charity, there has been growing up a strong sentiment that the care of widows' children is primarily a public function. In caring for her children, giving them a good home and a normal upbringing, the mother is performing for the state a service which is beyond price. At the same time she is actually saving the state money which must otherwise be spent in caring for children in institutions. Hence the conviction that the state can better spend its funds in subsidizing or supporting the normal home, than in establishing and supporting public institutions. The state steps in and as far as possible takes the place of the lost wage-earner.

This argument is so strong that since the White House Conference forty of the forty-eight states and the territories of Alaska and Hawaii have enacted some sort of State Mother's Aid, and the other states have such legislation under consideration. It is probable that within five years every state in the union will be administering some sort of mothers' pension. England, too, has just enacted national provision for widows' pensions.

Administration of Widows' Pensions.—The methods of administration and amounts given vary. In some states the assistance is rendered through the Juvenile Court, in others through local authorities, and in still others through specially constituted boards, such as the Child Welfare Boards of New York State. In general the expense is divided between local poor relief authorities and the state treasury, as it is realized that such aid relieves the local poor funds of a burden that might fall on them. In all cases, however, care is taken that a definite distinction be made between mothers' aid and ordinary poor relief, for it is felt that the former is much more in the nature of a payment for service rendered; and in cases where for one reason or another mothers' aid is withdrawn poor relief is sometimes given, or it is given until the proper investigations can be made. As to the method of administration, it makes little difference whether it be local or state-wide, although since the personnel and standards of the state boards are generally high, there should be very careful inspection and supervision by the State Board of Charity. The reasons for juvenile court administration are purely local and historical—the juvenile courts happened to have the staff ready to perform the service; and this development should be discouraged. A court is organized to deal with matters of conduct, not of dependency.

Criticisms of Mothers' Aid.—Two of the criticisms made of existing mothers' aid systems are; first, that there is delay in getting the pension started, and second, either that the amounts given are insufficient or that the appropriations made are not adequate to cover all cases. With an inadequate appropriation, only two alternatives are before the administrators; either to cut down on everybody, or to limit the number and aid a few adequately. Of the two, the latter is in every way more desirable. The amount given should be sufficient to enable the mother to give the best possible care to her children, and in most cases this means relinquishing all outside work. In some cases it may be possible for the mother to carry on part-time employment. The entire question of amount needed can, in the words of the Children's Bureau Conference of 1919,

> be determined only by careful and competent case study, which must be renewed from time to time to meet changing conditions.

Ideally, of course, the appropriations should be sufficient to care adequately for all qualified cases.

The criticisms as to delay in instituting the pension are sometimes justified and frequently not. The state ought not to embark on an expensive pension system without assuring itself that the mother is a good mother and the home a good home. To the experienced case-worker there are a number of possibilities that must be looked into before state aid is recommended, and this case-study, which is absolutely imperative, takes time. Perhaps the way to meet such situations and to carry the case along until the advisability of state aid and the size of the budget, etc., is decided on, is the provision of a certain portion of the funds for temporary aid. At present that is not done, however, and reliance is placed either on private charity or on public poor relief. Of the two plans the former is preferable, as there is generally not nearly so much stigma or loss of status involved, and frequently, too, the private agency is more elastic in its provisions, and its workers are of assistance to those of the mother's aid department in making permanent plans. Until the state appropriations are considerably larger, this assistance from private charity would seem the logical way of bridging the gap. Other delays are often due to routine requirements embodied in the legislation or in the procedure of public bodies, many of which have no direct concern with the proper treatment of the case.[6] A study of the legislation and an elimination, so far as possible, of purely legalistic requirements, and the administration of the funds by experienced social workers who are allowed a very considerable discretion, would help to meet this situation.

Service to Mothers' Aid Families.—There has been a vast difference in the attitude adopted by the states in regard to assistance and supervision of families aided by mothers' pensions. In the beginning the advocates of pensions generally felt that after the initial investigation the requirements of the law had been met, and an occasional report was all that was necessary. Indeed, this feeling that money relief alone was sufficient to make up for the loss of the father was urged against mothers' pensions by trained social workers. In the administration of mothers' pensions in the last decade it has become increasingly evident that relief alone is not enough. In human relationships conditions change overnight, and the state, in accepting the financial position of the father, must accept some of his other responsibilities as well. This is true not only in respect to advice regarding family expenditure, but in other respects also. It may seem a simple expedient, and it is in line with governmental administrative policy, to adopt certain general rules of conduct, but this is not desirable in dealing with so deli-

[6] For details of administration, see *Laws Relating to Mothers' Pensions*, Children's Bureau Publications No. 63.

cate, complex, and difficult a social problem as that of family relationships. The investment of the state's funds is not enough; if the state is to attempt in any way to be responsible for its children bereft of a father, it must equip itself to render adequately varied social services which its position *in loco parentis* involves. In some of the states this responsibility is realized, and a thoroughly trained and equipped staff is attached to the pension agency. In other states, because of a reluctance to interfere unduly and a less excusable economy, the service end of the pension is neglected, and the result is the creation of another group of paupers. Experience, however, is teaching even bureaucratic state officials the truth that man does not live by bread alone, and state legislatures are adding appropriations that serve to make the mothers' pensions approximate their full value in social care of dependent children. Without trained social service, mothers' pensions are at the best but a negative good; with service supplementing the money, the possibilities of mothers' aid are almost limitless.

Mothers' Aid to Other than Widows.—The preceding paragraphs have discussed mothers' pensions as though they applied only to widows. This is the case in nine of the states; in six others, however, it is given to any mother with dependent children, and in the remaining states the stipulations vary. The same general conclusions as to the value of mothers' pensions hold when they are given to mothers whose husbands are totally incapacitated, as is the case in seventeen states.

When aid is given to other types of mothers with dependent children besides widows and those with incapacitated husbands, other factors enter in which in the judgment of the writer make the aid somewhat more questionable. For instance, a large number of the states give mothers' aid to prisoners' families. There is no question but that prisoners' families are dependent, but the heredity and environment of most such families would ordinarily raise a question as to such aid being a wise investment of state funds. Modern penology would indicate that such families should be supported by the proceeds of the labor of the prisoner himself, and the provision of mothers' aid will make the states more reluctant to make this salutary arrangement. Moreover, other obvious factors complicate the application of mothers' aid to such families.

Many other states give such aid to mothers whose husbands are in state asylums for insanity or feeble-mindedness. They, too, are dependent, but taking into account our knowledge of heredity, and our experience of the environment in most such homes, the investment of the funds and services of mothers' aid is questionable. If there were

an adequate appropriation for all normal widows' families, including adequate service, it might be legitimate to take on these cases, but with the limited appropriations and service which prevail almost everywhere, this extension is undesirable.

In regard to divorced wives, the situation is somewhat less clear. Still, it would seem that in general a home which was unable to maintain itself would again be a questionable social investment for the government to attempt to maintain. Then, too, there is a general assumption that where there are children, at least, alimony should be paid by the father. There are so many factors which enter into divorces, however, that no general policy is perhaps desirable. However, there is little question but that genuine widows should receive first consideration where there is a choice, and that cases of divorced wives should be even more carefully investigated than others.

A few states also include unmarried mothers among the beneficiaries. The problem of the unmarried mother and her dependent child—for there is rarely more than one—presents so many peculiar angles and needs such delicate social adjustment, that, although there is every reason for the state to act *in loco parentis,* the method of organization of mothers' aid comes far from being the best to meet the situation. An altogether different adjustment must be made, and for that purpose a separate department dealing with this specific problem is needed, either as a private charity or as part of the governmental machinery.

The Deserted Wife and Mothers' Aid.—Fifteen states recognize the deserted wife and her dependent children as in the same category with widows in respect to aid. That desertion is an important factor in creating child dependency is evident. A study recently made in Connecticut, reported by Gesell, showed that of eighty definitely dependent cases, chosen at random from the county homes for dependent children, twenty or twenty-five per cent were dependent because of desertion, nine of father, ten of mother and one of both.[7] This corresponds exactly with the statement made by Miss Brandt that one-fourth of the commitments of children to institutions in New York City are attributed to desertion.[8] In Gesell's study the number of children whose dependence was due to death of a parent was thirty-nine, about twice that of the deserted.

Treatment of Desertion.—Despite the seriousness of the situation and the fact that the children are as guiltless as though the deserting parent were dead, the grant of mothers' aid to such cases, except under very severe restrictions, does not seem advisable. It might be

[7] Gesell, op. cit., p. 134.

[8] L. Brandt, *Five Hundred and Seventy-Four Deserters and Their Families,* New York, 1905, p. 10.

that after a seven-year or perhaps even a three-year period, with absolutely no trace of the deserter, application for assistance under the mothers' aid act might be permitted. But the sensible treatment for desertion is not the provision of relief; in fact that not only encourages staying away, but makes the deserter's neighbors feel that perhaps the best way that their families could be provided for would be for them also to depart. The first step in providing for the dependents of a deserter is to make every effort to trace this missing parent, and to bring him back—not necessarily to live with his family, for there may be sufficient reasons why that is not desirable, but to see that he provides for his family. This is a police job, but it is one in which criminal justice has been lamentably tardy. It has been much easier to turn the family over to the children's institution, or the relief society, or recently to the mothers' aid department, than to trace the absconder, with the result that many more abscond. The necessity of making every possible effort and even incurring considerable expense in tracking deserting parents cannot be over-emphasized. It may be that even when the deserter is secured, all that can be done in an individual case is to commit him to jail, but that has been known to work miraculous changes, occasionally [9] in the deserter himself, and a few such cases are tremendously effective as deterrents to would-be deserters. While hunting for the delinquent, it is necessary, of course, to assist the family, but ordinarily this should be done through a family welfare agency, if one exists, or through poor relief. Churches and relatives will often help temporarily, also. When the problem becomes chronic, through long-continued desertion, a careful study of the family situation is inevitable. If the parent who remains has capacity and the home shows possibilities, definitely planned relief should be given, but of these families, a somewhat higher standard should be demanded than of widows, and the necessity for breaking them up occurs more frequently. At any rate an avoidance of any assistance, which, like mothers' aid, can be recognized as a right, is desirable for a long period after the desertion, and aid should never be given until all possible efforts have been made to place the financial burden where it legitimately belongs. Of all cases which come to the social worker, those of the deserting wives or husbands are in some ways the most perplexing. The problem of support is hard, the question of prosecution is often made difficult by the remaining member, and the social worker often receives nothing but abuse both from her client and the public for what appears to both to be heartless cruelty. This is a case where in spite of all our tenderness, the sins of the father must to some extent be visited upon the children.

[9] See Case 25—Breckinridge, S., *Family Welfare Work*, Chicago, 1924, p. 545 ff.

Agencies and Institutions

In addition to the methods discussed in the preceding section, there are three or four specialized types of child care which generally deal with both dependent and neglected children.

The Day Nursery.—The day nursery chiefly cares for the semi-dependent rather than the totally dependent child, although indeed, by making possible the employment of mothers, it prevents many semi-dependents from becoming totally dependent.

Although day nurseries vary widely in detail, the general principle underlying them all is the same. They attempt to provide care during the day for children whose mothers are obliged—or feel that they are obliged—to work. This allows the mother to maintain her home and in most cases insures the child a minimum of healthful care. Day nurseries were immensely popular during the Great War, when there was a shortage of workers. Such nurseries are provided in different ways, some by the industry which employs the mothers, others by social settlements, others in connection with various charitable and semi-charitable institutions, and some purely as business ventures, where the parents are supposed to pay the full cost of the care. Of course in the industrial day nurseries, also, the cost of the care of the children is really met by the mothers, as it is unquestionably charged against their wages.

Standards of Day Nurseries.—The standards of day nurseries vary even more than the auspices under which they are conducted. Some take any child who is given to them without any physical examination, have very elastic age limits, and attempt nothing further than the provision of a room and one or two superannuated workers, or girls too young for regular employment, to "mind" the children. Others refuse to take any child until after a thorough investigation of the reasons for the mother's employment and then only if no other plan is feasible; they have definite age limits, and if they take children of varying ages, care for them in different rooms; give a thorough physical examination and provide skilled medical attendance (in an institution of any size a trained nurse is a necessity); furnish a building equipped with the latest devices for the care of children; and above all have a sufficient number of trained children's workers and kindergarteners so that the attention which the children receive is the very best possible outside their own home, and in some respects excels the home itself.

Criticisms of the Nursery.—The nursery has been recently very severely criticized, particularly in the United States. It is said that at best it is simply a makeshift, that in its place the money should

be given the mother either through mothers' pensions or in some other way, and that she should stay at home and take care of her own children. Nurseries have been condemned because of the ease with which they accept children, making it easy for the woman to become the wage-earner in place of the man; and, of course, they have been criticized because so many of them lack provision for healthful care of the children. For this last defect there is no excuse; in order to meet it day nurseries should be placed under close supervision of the State Boards of Charity, which should guarantee standards, and also proper investigations before admission.

The general criticisms of the day nursery are not so easy to deal with. There is much to be said against it; and yet children are better cared for in the nurseries than when they are simply left in charge of a neighbor. Not all cases, as previously shown, can or should be met with mothers' pensions, or even outdoor relief. And more important still, there is much to be said for the woman whose talents and interests lie outside rather than inside the home. With the shortening working hours she may be able to be with her children much of the time and yet she may loathe housework and really be successful and happy in the store or factory. That women will ultimately demand an opportunity to choose their work even after they become parents, just as men do, seems probable. This is already the case with many mothers in the upper ranks of society. To meet this situation, which will undoubtedly become more important rather than less, some such institution as the day nursery will probably continue to exist. Even now many women who claim poverty as the excuse for working only do it because they know that any other reason would not be accepted. Some other aspects of this general situation will be discussed in the chapter on Sex and Family Problems, but for the present it will be sufficient to say that the day nursery—or the nursery school—is bound to be more important in the future than in the past, but that its chief function is not to be the care of dependents. In fulfilling the function outlined above, there is no reason why the day nursery should remain in any sense a charity; mothers who receive its services should pay what those services cost, unless the time comes, when as a sort of extension downward from the kindergarten, nursery schools are supported by taxation.

Supervision of the Day Nursery.—Strict regulation by public authority of the present day nursery ought to be undertaken without delay. The employment of one or more trained social workers to make investigations—not limited to the purely financial considerations involved—and a rigorous enforcement of standards of hygiene and of adequate child-care will do much to make the nursery more efficient. Nursery schools along the lines indicated have been de-

veloped in Boston, New York, and Detroit in the last five years. Associated with their work with the children there has been an extensive program of instruction of the parents. With the safeguards proposed above, and with the newer attitude regarding women's employment, the writer believes that the day nursery, far from being a makeshift, may become an integral part of our social and educational system.[10]

Adoption.—The most ancient form of caring for dependents was through adoption into the family of the nearest relative, and this is still probably the commonest method. Where there are relatives this ordinarily gives little trouble; it is the natural and normal way, and is one that ought to be encouraged by all workers with juvenile dependents. Even where there are no relatives adoption is often possible. Here, however, in modern society the state is called upon, as in the case of orphans, to see that the child's rights are safeguarded. Legal adoption is in most states possible only through the probate court and many such courts take their duties seriously. In other places, however, it is far too easy for a parent legally to give away his or her children without adequate assurance as to the foster parent's character or capacity. In connection with all adoption cases, justice to the child and to the state demands careful investigation by the court of the reasons for adoption and of the character of the new home.

Institutions for Children

At present and for the past two thousand years the most generally adopted form of social adjustment for the dependent, neglected, illegitimate, or delinquent child has been the institution—that is, placing groups of such children in a building or buildings in charge of attendants. The children's institution is a direct outgrowth of Christianity. We hear nothing of it in the Ancient World, where adoption and a crude form of child-placing seemed to be sufficient to take care of the problems which a rough sort of eugenics—infanticide and child exposure—did not meet. Christianity, however, brought into the Western World a very emphatic condemnation of infanticide and abortion, and naturally the number of dependents was increased. The persecutions of the early church also left an unusually large number of orphans for whom the church was obliged to provide.

Early Institutions.—To meet this situation societies of "widows" were organized who provided homes for dependent children for whose care the church paid.[11] This was the genesis of the children's insti-

[10] See Gesell, op. cit., Chapter III, for a fair statement of the newer developments and their possibilities.

[11] G. Ulhorn, *Christian Charity in the Early Church*, New York, 1883, p. 90.

tution, from which there rapidly developed—especially after the adoption of Christianity as a state religion in the fourth century—a veritable network of orphanages spreading all over western Europe. These orphanages were generally associated with some religious order and were frequently endowed. The purpose of the orphanage, as of the other medieval works of charity, was two-fold: both to minister to the needs of poor children, and to supply the religious with a means of grace. Consequently it was not only the need which stimulated buildings and endowments, but the conscience of the donor—the number of sins which he wished forgiven. The only important non-Christian group in Europe, the Jews, still maintained the older system of child-placing and adoption.[12]

This method of caring for children continued with uninterrupted growth until ten or fifteen years ago; since then the rate of growth has at least slackened.

Children in Almshouses.—There is one institution which is unanimously condemned as a place for children—that is, the almshouse; yet until very recently many have been kept there. In 1910 there were 2344 children in almshouses in the United States. The large number of children under five years still remaining are mainly infants retained there because the almshouse in certain sections still serves as a maternity hospital. Most of the states, however, have passed legislation making it mandatory to remove children from the almshouses before five at the very latest, and on the whole these laws are carried out. Recalling the previous quotation from Mr. Kelso as to almshouses, or one of Dickens' descriptions of the pitiful situation in the English poorhouses, one cannot but be thankful that so much, at least, has been accomplished. The removal from the almshouse of maternity cases—a step which is bound to come—will do much to cut down the present number, and there is every reason to hope that before 1950, at the very latest, no child will have cause to complain that his youth was passed in the shadow of the poorhouse.

Types of Institutions.—Institutions for children from the point of view of function can be roughly divided into two general types: those which care for infants, the so-called foundling hospitals and infant asylums, and those which take care of older children. There are numerous other divisions as to age, sex, religion, etc., but this is the most important.

Death-rate in Foundling Asylums.—Some of the problems of the foundling asylum have already been spoken of. Even aside from the question of admission, however, the foundling asylum has always presented a very grave situation with regard to care of the

[12] Slingerland, W. H., *Child Placing in Families,* New York, 1918, p. 31.

children. With the older children the crucial ages, the first and second years of infancy, are passed, and the principal index of success or failure is no longer the death-rate. Of the infant homes, until very recently at any rate, it might truly be said that

"it mattered little to the individual infant whether it was murdered outright or was placed in a foundling hospital—death came only a little sooner in one case than another. A death-rate of 97 per cent for children under three years of age was once not at all uncommon; and there are still many asylums that have a death rate of 25 to 60 per cent instead of the normal 12 to 14 per cent. [13]

Dr. H. D. Chapin in 1915 from a study of ten large foundling asylums in ten different cities reported that for every 100 infants under two years admitted, but one institution showed a death-rate as low as 31 per cent; in four they ran from 40 to 49; in two others, 60 and 65 respectively; and in one 75 per cent. The report of W. J. Doherty in 1915 on the New York City children's institutions revealed similar conditions.

Causes for Deaths.—The reasons for this situation are many. In the first place it must be conceded that children come to the foundling asylums in very bad condition; rachitic, infected with venereal disease, drugged and neglected. The majority of the children who are taken need definite hospital treatment—which most infant's homes are not equipped to provide. Nevertheless this is not the only cause; strong, healthy babies droop in institutions. There are a few institutions where modern methods of hospital care have cut the death-rate remarkably, thus emphasizing the responsibility of the others. One of the fundamental causes is insufficient care; the number of infants per attendant is generally far too large. The writer remembers an institution where one "sister" was responsible for forty babies; anyone who has attempted to care for *one* knows that such a task is impossible. This is an extreme case and was rendered less arduous for the attendant, although not more salutary for the babies, because the common use of certain mild drugs was not contrary to the ethics of the institution. Even eight to ten babies, the usual number for the better asylums, is far too many—the modern standard being four to an attendant. It is possible to clean the larger number when visitors are expected and to keep them quiet with soothing syrup and pacifiers, but the condition of the children's beds in many such institutions beggars description.

Attendants.—The type of attendants in institutions is also a very great difficulty. No intelligent and sympathetic woman with standards and training will willingly serve in most children's institutions

[13] Warner, op. cit., p. 251.

under present conditions. Consequently the asylums are compelled to rely on ignorant hired attendants, or in the case of the religious orders on members of the sisterhoods. Of the two, the latter render the more devoted service, but their training is usually inadequate and their interest is primarily in the children's souls rather than their bodies.

"Institutionalism."—Even with ideal standards there seems to be a psychological lack in institutional care for infants which affects their health. Child psychologists tell us that babies call for handling and individual attention; it is that which gives zest to life. To quote Warner again:

> "Though the ward of an asylum be flooded with sunlight, as it often is not, yet there still is lacking the light and warmth of personal affection and the comforts of personal attention."

Elimination of the Foundling Asylum.—The history of the foundling asylum is black indeed, and that in spite of the good intentions of its founders and administrators. Its lax methods of admission encourage rather than check illegitimacy, and it is an almost complete failure in its purpose as a preserver of life. That there is, on the other hand, a need for children's *hospitals*, where children, whether dependent or not, can receive proper medical care, is evident. The elimination of the foundling asylum will not be an easy task, but at least public opinion should exert itself against the establishment of additional institutions, and as far as possible transform the existing ones either into well-equipped infant hospitals for the ill, or into child-placing agencies for the normal dependent infant.

Institutions for Older Children.—The problems that face institutions for children over two years old are in many respects quite different. If children have survived the first two years either in a foundling asylum or in the ordinary home which is so poorly organized that its children need institutional care afterward, natural selection has done its part so well that the death-rate ceases to be a fair criterion. Problems of admission, segregation, and care become uppermost.

Types of Institutions.—Institutions for children above the infant age are varied in character and variously supported. Some are endowed, such as Girard College in Philadelphia, and by virtue of the endowment can care only for certain highly specialized cases. Some require that the children admitted shall be of a particular religious sect or of a special nationality; some will take only legitimate children and others only illegitimate; some will take them only for a short period of time and others only if the parents give them up permanently. Of course, there is the usual separation of institutions for boys and for girls, although many take both; age-limits vary and are

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purely arbitrary. Institutions vary, too, as to support. The larger number are privately supported, either through endowment or through contributions, or both. Many are maintained by religious bodies. Others are supported partly by endowment or contributions and partly through public funds; and in some—the worst arrangement of all—each child taken in is paid for at a fixed rate by the state. This, of course, leads to a desire to increase the enrollment. Other institutions, again, are entirely state supported and controlled, but these tend to be specialized agencies for the delinquent and the defective rather than the more generalized type which provides for the dependent and the neglected.

Advantages of Institutional Care.—With all these various types, and with the hundreds of different institutions, it is difficult to make generalizations. They tend, however, to have certain handicaps in common, as well as certain virtues. First of all let it be freely admitted that the institution is preferred by the parents of dependent children to any other form of care "because they know where the child is, and can usually visit it, and frequently can retain the right to take it back." Donors also prefer the institution because it is so obvious. One can readily point with pride to a solid building of brick and stone, and a hundred or more children grouped together make an appealing sight. The institution is attractive to the individual who wishes to perpetuate his own name or that of a relative. It is permanent and can be made sightly. When children are scattered all over the country this gratification disappears. The church, too, generally prefers the institution because it gives a splendid opportunity for religious instruction, without contact with other distracting forces. It is reported that in New York State all institutions having more than five hundred children are religious. It must also be said that the children themselves often prefer the institution after they have lived in one for a while. They come to shrink from life outside and are found returning again and again to the life to which they are accustomed. Other things can be said in favor of the institution but the benefits are in the main negative. The children are

> "not cold, nor dirty, nor neglected, nor hungry, nor abused,—that is, if the management is good . . . their attendance on school exercises is entirely regular, as are also their hours of sleep and eating." [14]

This makes it obvious that the ordinary child over two is better off in a good institution than in a family home where he is absolutely starving or where he is shamefully neglected, physically or morally.

Increase in Institutions.—Such being the case, it is no wonder that institutions have tended to increase as the following table shows:

[14] Warner, op. cit., p. 266.

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Year	No. Children's Institutions in U. S.
1880	613
1890	698
1903	1,075
1910	1,151

It must be borne in mind in considering these figures, however, that this is just the period of our large immigration from southern Europe, much of it Catholic by religion and accustomed to institutions.

Ease of Admission to Children's Institutions.—There has been an increasing number of social workers and students of child psychology, however, who have been seriously challenging the effectiveness of the institution for children. One objection which they have brought forward is that the existence of the institution helps to create the problem which it is supposed to solve. In many respects the situation in respect to the institutions for older children parallels that of the foundling hospital, although it is not nearly so serious. Most private institutions and many public ones admit children without an adequate investigation; and the fact that such institutions are known to exist makes it easier for parents and relatives to feel that they cannot take care of their children themselves. Most institutions are not equipped with competent investigators and the admission is left to boards of managers or to the matron in charge. Many experienced workers with children feel that this situation presents such grave problems that no child should be committed to any institution whatever without a judicial investigation before a juvenile court and a finding that the child is actually dependent. Such an investigation would frequently discover some better way of caring for the children. That such is the case, the experience of many institutions has shown. The Secretary of the New York State Board of Charities reports two cases, in one of which an institution about to change its methods sent word of this fact to the parents of its 300 children, with the result that there were only 75 left for the institution to care for; and in another an institution by simply notifying the committing officers that its population would have to be reduced from 400 to 100, was able to do so without any hardship. In another case in the Middle West a children's institution through a self-investigation found out that of its 340 inmates only 50 needed institutional care, and in 1914 the Commissioner of Charities in New York City after an investigation of children in institutions in the city recommended 1310 for discharge. Careful investigation before admission is becoming the practice in all the better managed institutions, and should ultimately become a prerequisite for a license by the State Boards of Charity—which should be required of all children's institutions as well as of other charitable enterprises.

Lack of Classification in Institutions.—Another objection, not to institutions *per se,* but to institutions as they exist, is the lack of proper classification of the inmates. Here again a careful investigation before admission would do much. As it is, one finds in almost every institution many different types of children with whom it is difficult to deal in the uniform manner which institutional life demands. The particular difficulty has been in the past the grouping together of defective and normal children, but the growing insistence on mental and physical examinations for admission is lessening this difficulty. Proper classification on a physical basis, also, and proper medical care are likewise essential. Every children's institution of any size needs the services of a specialist in children's diseases, and for every fifty children there should be at least one trained nurse in addition to the other regular attendants. The separation of delinquent and dependent children has been often insisted on, but it is one which the author would not stress. In his judgment the results of social and psychological studies of the children and their physical condition is much more important in deciding as to their classification than the particular reason why they are sent to an institution. Our children's institutions have become colored with the same attitude as our penal system, where it is the particular crime rather than the criminal which determines treatment. For some physical and mental defectives, and for special types of character problems there is no doubt but that institutional care with its—theoretical, at least—wealth of skilled service is essential. But these types should be carefully picked out from the ordinary run of the dependent, neglected, and delinquent.

Disadvantages of the Institution for the Normal Child.—For the average child, however, there are disadvantages in institutional care which weigh heavily against any advantages. It has been pointed out that the herding of large numbers of infants together in institutions result in a very high death-rate; the older children live, but with a lowered vitality, and still more with diminished personality.

"Even a small institution is different from a large family. In the latter the children are of different ages, they have different opportunities for amusement—one initiates the other. Even in a small institution with only eight or ten children, they are apt to be of about the same age, none of them especially ambitious, and with their opportunities for self-education very limited. In the large caravansaries, where hundreds or even thousands of children are congregated, their non-development is very apparent. The fundamental fault is, perhaps, that life is made too easy. A child ought to have more opportunity of hurting himself, of getting dirty, of being insubordinate, than can possibly be accorded to him here. It is pitiful sight to see a hundred children together, and none of them making a fuss. The discipline

that would make a good soldier ruins a child—it is fatal to him to march in platoons, to play only at the word of command." [15]

So says Mrs. Coolidge in her recent edition of Warner; and to confirm her statements, especially as to the lack of training which the institution gives for life, Mr. R. R. Reeder, himself the superintendent of the New York Orphan Asylum at Hastings-on-the-Hudson, one of the best institutions of its kind in the world, is quoted as saying:

"Children in an institution will hear little or no helpful conversation about domestic economy and management, social and religious customs and practice, the moral principles involved in concrete newspaper and neighborhood happenings. Left thus to themselves they never hear such expressions as "Potatoes are high; we can afford them only once a day," "Flour has gone down," "Butter is thirty-five cents a pound," "John's shoes must last till next pay-day," "Mary's dress will bear turning," etc. The most important part of the social and moral education of the child normally situated is the conversation, especially the table talk with parents. It is here that children get their views of life before starting out into the larger world they must enter." [16]

In spite of a very occasional graduate of a children's institution who becomes governor or star ball-player, and of whom we hear much, the ordinary institution child is ill fitted for life. Life outside the institution is misunderstood and the child who had probably a limited equipment to start with is further handicapped by the wrong sort of education.

This failure to prepare properly for life, which is inherent in the best institution, is further accentuated by the prevailingly low grade of associate which the institution child has. There is little stimulation of the right sort from his fellow inmates and much harmful influence from others of weak constitution and anti-social tendencies. Matrons are continually struggling against ring worm and eye diseases; and this prevalence of physical infections is typical of more deadly mental and moral infections.

Improvements in Children's Institutions.—There has been much improvement recently in the institutions. The criticisms made against their lack of admission standards, their low health standards, their antiquated buildings, often in the center of large cities, and even the charge that they do not train for life, have been taken to heart, and many of the large institutions, of which that at Hastings was the forerunner, have sold their large city buildings, erected cottages in the country, attempted to select their inmates more care-

[15] Warner, op. cit., pp. 266–267.
[16] Charities, Vol. XI, p. 151.

fully and to care for them in classified small groups. The growth of the kindergarten system, and our increasing knowledge of child psychology and industrial training, have all had their effect, and many institutions have adopted the practice—first started by the Jews—of sending their children to the public schools. That all this has improved the institution is beyond doubt. Mr. Reeder's description of his own experiment in "How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn" is proof of what can be done with scientific management and careful selection; and yet after a quarter of a century Mr. Reeder has admitted in a recent article in the *Survey* that for the normal child the family home—not necessarily his own—is far superior to even the best of institutions. If this is the case for the best, there is little to be said for the majority of children's institutions, which are as far behind the best as an ox-wagon would lag behind an airplane.

The Future of the Institution.—The children's institution we have, and will have with us for a long time to come. So far as possible state supervision and intelligent public interest should guarantee minimum standards in them, looking forward, however, to the day when they can be eliminated entirely from the program of care for the normal child. The way has been pointed out in many of our American cities, particularly in Boston, where during the last few years several century-old institutions have sold their valuable buildings, abandoned the institutional method of caring for children entirely, and adopted the more humane and scientific one of child-placing.

Child-placing

So long as we have children in the community whose own homes for one reason or another cannot or will not provide for them the public must care for them in some way. It seems thoroughly logical that if his own family home, under normal conditions, is the best place for the child, then when that home is non-existent or impossible, the best substitute is another family home,—a good one. This is the philosophy which lies back of the child-placing movement, whether the child is placed in a free home or in one in which board is paid.

History of Child-placing.—Child-placing is neither new nor untried. Students of ancient Hebrew customs tell us that the Jewish laws provided that orphans and the fatherless should be placed in homes of relatives or, if these were lacking, in other families. The Psalmist calls God "Father of the fatherless" and tells us that He "setteth the fatherless in families"; and the Talmud makes this statement:

The blessed man that doeth righteousness at all times is the man that brings up an orphan boy or girl until marriage has given him or her another home.[17]

Throughout history child-placing of various types has been carried on, some of it very unsatisfactory in nature. The apprentice system of the Middle Ages was a sort of child-placing, which became cruel and heartless when the Industrial Revolution made child-labor profitable. The indenture system which crossed the Atlantic with our forefathers, under which small children were sometimes mercilessly exploited, was also placing-out, and it is perhaps due to the experience with these undesirable types that there still is a very considerable feeling against placing. More recent instances of poor child-placing also have strengthened this feeling; the Barnado Homes in England which have already sent some thirty thousand children three thousand miles across the Atlantic with little or no supervision after placement is one instance, and the extensive child-placing in the Far West with comparatively little inquiry or supervision in the early days of the New York Children's Aid Society, is another. Many religious organizations, some of them institutions which placed their charges after they had reached a certain age limit, have by their poor methods given the entire system an ill-repute. In contrasting the children's institution with this type of child-placing—the type, for example, that brings some ten or fifteen children of assorted ages to the altar rail after Sunday service and then calls on the parishioners "for the love of God" to take these children—there is no question that the institution is the better. In other words, poor child-placing is far worse than good institutional care, and much of the child-placing done up to the turn of the century was poor.

The Newer Child-placing.—But fortunately there has been developing an interest in child-placing which has made it possible for good family homes to be found for dependent children and for the children placed in them to be carefully supervised. There have grown up all over the United States, but particularly in the Northeast, agencies both public and private which are careful in their initial investigations, study thoroughly the child committed to them, make it their business to find either a free or a boarding home that will meet the needs of the particular child, and then after placement give the child adequate supervision through a staff of skilled visitors. Perhaps the best instance of this method is to be found in the Boston Children's Aid Society, but there are many other such organizations.

Arguments for Child-placing.—It is scarcely necessary to argue at length for child-placing as opposed to institutional care for the normal

[17] Jewish Encyclopedia, New York, 1907, vol. IX, p. 438.

child. The evils of institutional life have been considered in some detail and with good placing they are entirely avoided. The placed-out child has other disabilities—the home is not his own, and consequently he stands in need of the expert service which the placing agency should give him. But he lives the normal life of a normal child, and so far as it can do so society is supplying him with another home and another father and mother for the ones of which he has been deprived. That there are problems of exploited children, particularly among adolescents, no one can deny, but adequate supervision—the Boston Children's Aid standard is forty children per visitor—can reduce it to a very low minimum. General incompatibility and lack of sympathy must be guarded against even more than in a large institution, but here the technique of the trained social case-worker and the psychologist are of inestimable value, and both are available to the good social agency.

Placing-out for Other Types of Children.—For the abnormal child, the delinquent, and even the defective of certain types, the placing-out system, with a more specialized form of supervision, also seems to be the proper adjustment. These will be considered in later sections.

Receiving Homes.—Temporary care of children to be placed out is often necessary, and here in most communities a small institution known as the receiving home is useful, although many of the Boston agencies use boarding homes even for temporary care. No dependent ward of the Massachusetts State Board of Public Welfare, under whom more than five thousand children are placed out in family homes, is allowed to stay in any institution over three months. Such extensive use of family homes requires, however, years of experience in the community and the building up of a clientele of first-class temporary boarding-places, and most communities prefer the easier expedient of a small institution or clinic. For physical and mental examinations there is much to be said in its favor, although no child acts the same in an institution as in a family.

Economy of Placing-out.—Another advantage which the advocates of the placing system have claimed is its economy. There is no large overhead expense in buildings and equipment. Slingerland estimates the average cost of an institution child for six years' care to be from $1000 to $1200; while he places the cost of care, including supervision, for a placed-out child in a free home at $250 for the six years; even in a boarding home the expense is no greater than in an institution.[18] The writer feels that these latter estimates are too low, but even with present costs, both for board and for supervision (the latter especially has increased as salaries of social workers have gone

[18] Slingerland, A. H., *Child Placing in Families,* New York, 1919, pp. 186–187.

up), the cost would not be more than $1500 for the six years; and since additional costs have also hit the institutions it is very likely that the actual cost of boarding-out and institutional care would be approximately the same. As a fair proportion of all placed-out children are free cases, this would mean that even where board was paid for a considerable number the average cost would be distinctly less. Even if the money expended were somewhat greater, the ultimate cost to the community would be less because the adults whom these children later become are far better able to care for themselves.

Availability of Placing.—Another advantage of the placing-out system is its availability. Institutions are restricted as to capacity, whereas the child-placing agency is limited only by its budget for supervision and board; the scope of its work can be readily expanded or contracted in accordance with the need without greatly affecting the per capita overhead charges. Homes are always obtainable; speaking from experience, workers agree that there is a good family home available for every homeless child. The only reason that they are not found is because we are not really looking for them.

There are many criticisms of most existing child-placing agencies, but these criticisms should not blind us to the fact that child-placing is the best adjustment which society has so far made for its dependent children.

The Illegitimate Child

Of all the thwarted children in society the illegitimate child is the most unfortunate. Illegitimate children constitute a large proportion of inmates of our orphan asylums and foundling hospitals; and from every point of view they are the most dependent.

Attitude Toward Illegitimacy.—All nations and tribes which legalize marriage have to a greater or less degree the problem of the illegitimate child,—the child born out of wedlock. The problem has been met in various ways at various periods; in some societies illegitimate children have been put to death, and generally they suffer a social stigma. The attitude of society toward illegitimate children has varied from time to time; William the Norman was proud of his cognomen "The Bastard," and the "bar-sinister" was not a very serious handicap in the Middle Ages. For illegitimate children of the poorer classes the church provided through its foundling asylums a ready method of care, and in many European countries illegitimacy had little effect on the position of the child, although it was always somewhat of a disgrace to the mother. During the nineteenth century, with the dominance of the Puritan ideals in sex relations, the church

and state combined to make illegitimacy a deep disgrace, and throughout Western Europe, but especially in England and America, the percentage of illegitimate births showed an appreciable decline, while at the same time the position of both the unmarried mother and her child became increasingly difficult.

Extent of Illegitimacy.—The extent of illegitimacy has never been exactly known. Since it is a disgrace, every effort is made to hide the facts, with considerable success, especially among the better-off classes in society. At the same time, in Europe, at any rate, fairly careful records of illegitimate births have been kept which show a remarkable difference between various countries, and all of which show a much higher rate than appears to be the case in the United States. The reason for the lack of comparable data here is the fact that many states do not keep accurate birth records. The data that we have are derived from those states which are in the so-called "registration area" and from special studies made of illegitimacy in selected localities.

European Rate.—It is said that in South America the rate is much higher than in Europe, but definite statistics are lacking. The European rate runs from approximately 15 per cent in Sweden to 2.8 per cent in Ireland and 2.1 per cent in the Netherlands. There seems to be no special climatic religious, or racial influence in creating the discrepancies, for while northern Protestant Sweden has the highest, northern Protestant England is relatively low with but 4.2 per cent, and while Catholic Ireland is very low, Catholic Austria is high with 11.9 per cent in the period 1910–1914. The actual number of illegitimate births in Europe is appallingly high; Germany alone averages about 180,000 per annum; France 75,000; and England at least 50,000. As a partial explanation of the European conditions, students cite large standing armies which prevent early marriage and encourage sex irregularity; a relatively large servant class; customary sanction of prenuptial relationship in certain countries and sections; and an excess of women, or at least a larger proportion of women to men than in America.

Rate in United States.—The Children's Bureau in a recent publication estimates the number of illegitimate white births in the United States as approximately 32,400 annually, which would be about 1½ per cent of all white births.[19] This figure many consider much too small to fit the facts, and most private investigations indicate a higher rate. Even with a very considerable increase over the official statistics, the number of illegitimate births in this country is apparently much less than in Europe. There are some indications, however, that the amount of illegitimacy in the United States is on the increase, al-

[19] Children's Bureau, *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, p. 26.

though no adequate data are available. This apparent increase may only be due to more accurate registration.

The Burden of Illegitimacy.—Nevertheless, 32,000 children born each year, who, as statistics show, are far more liable than other children to dependency, disease, mental defect, and delinquency, and who even at the best must struggle through life with the handicap of their birth always against them, is no small matter. The figures as to infant mortality among illegitimate children are astonishing. The Registrar General of Births gives the following enlightening table in his 78th report showing the incidence of typical children's diseases among the illegitimate as compared to legitimate children:

Comparative Mortality of Legitimate and Illegitimate Children (1915)

	Proportion of illegitimate to 100 legitimate	
Disease	Males	Females
Atrophy, Debility, etc.	284	252
Premature Birth	174	168
Whooping Cough	115	85
Diarrhea and Enteritis	226	232
Tuberculous Diseases	174	181
Syphilis	652	939
All other diseases	190	197

The figure as to syphilis tells its own story.

Both legitimate and illegitimate children suffer from institutional care and suffer alike; but a far larger proportion of the illegitimate children are placed in institutions. The cost of the care of these illegitimate children to the public is enormous; Mangold reports that of 35,138 children in the care of institutions and societies of the state of New York on June 30, 1917, 29,860 or 85% were foundlings,—illegitimate children, or those regarding whose parents nothing was known.[20] Mangold feels that practically the entire number were illegitimate, and even if this is going too far, it can hardly be doubted that a majority were. At the same time, it should be noted that with careful social care, many unmarried mothers are able to maintain themselves and their children also, and that among the colored mothers particularly, all but a small minority are able to take care of themselves and their children.

Illegitimacy and Mental Defect.—Although we have little in the way of statistics as to the contribution of illegitimate children to the defective class, our knowledge of the hereditable character of mental defect, and of the prevalence of mental aberrations among the mothers,

[20] Mangold, G. B., *Children Born Out of Wedlock,* University of Missouri, p. 125.

leaves no reason to doubt that it is excessive. Extremists are fond of quoting individual instances to show that the children of "natural and untrammeled love" are superior beings, and that there have been a few such is true; but by and large the illegitimate child is a laggard. Kammerer in his study of 500 cases lists several unmarried mothers who were themselves illegitimate children. It might be admitted for the sake of argument that the fathers of illegitimate children were intellectually superior to the mothers; but unfortunately the mechanism of heredity is not selective. To quote Mangold again:

"The feeble-minded child has no future and unless protected or properly isolated will in turn become the parent of feeble-minded children." [21]

The high percentage of illegitimacy among such family groups as the Kallikaks, the Jukes, the Nams, and the Zeros is proof of the accuracy of this statement.

Illegitimacy and Crime.—Of the contribution of illegitimate children to crime and immorality there is more statistical evidence. Drahms in a study of French juvenile reformatories says that there are proportionately eight to nine times as many inmates of illegitimate as of legitimate birth.[22] Mangold quotes Borosini who says that at one time 75 per cent of the prostitutes of Berlin were illegitimate, and that of a group of delinquent girls in Munich one-third were illegitimate. American statistics are again lacking, but there is no reason to believe that relatively our illegitimates make a better showing. American experience has abundantly proved [23] that the broken home is the breedplace of all sorts of crimes, and surely the home that has never been complete is at least as bad.

Social Handicap of Illegitimacy.—And the last handicap, which falls hardest on the mentally and morally normal child, is more cruel still. That it has been and still is more difficult for a "bastard" to get ahead than for the child of a legal marriage, common observation proves. The hostility of society is fortunately becoming less prevalent than it was during the last century, and people are coming to see that the child does not deserve to suffer, whatever may have been the sins of his parents. A recent study made by the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy showed a surprisingly large number of individuals who stated that for employment and for the purpose of holding public office they would make no difference as between illegitimate and legitimate children. Yet it is not certain that their practice would wholly square with their intentions.

[21] Mangold, op. cit., p. 131.

[22] Drahms, A., *The Criminal,* p. 285, quoted by Mangold, op. cit., pp. 130–131.

[23] See Breckinridge and Abbott, *The Delinquent Child and the Home,* New York, 1917, and Van Waters, M., *Youth in Revolt,* New York, 1924.

The Unmarried Mother.—What the results of illegitimacy are for the child, we have tried to indicate. For the mother the situation is almost and in some instances quite as bad. Literature has lent some of its most moving pages to a portrayal of certain of these conditions. Scott has given us Effie Deans; Hawthorne, Hester Prynne; George Eliot, Hetty Sorrell; and Hardy, Tess of the D'Urbervilles. In most of these cases it is the wronged girl or young woman who has "loved not wisely but too well" who appeals for our sympathy, and a certain percentage of unmarried mothers belong in this class. It is significant, however, that in a recent study reported by the Milwaukee Conference on Illegitimacy, of 362 children born out of wedlock, the young, deceived girl under 18 years of age bore but 11 per cent,[24] and a reading of Kammerer's cases, previously referred to, does not show any larger proportion. In fact, assault, rape, or incest appear but fourteen times in the cases studied.[25]

The problem, however, can not be solved by sympathy alone; in fact, our sympathy seems to be in direct proportion to the distance of the situation from our own lives. Many tears and much condemnation of the harshness with which the unfortunate woman is treated are evoked by the reading of an affecting novel; but the same people who are thus affected take an altogether different attitude if the situation occurs in their own circle. What is needed far more than sympathy is proper treatment and an attempt at rehabilitation of the mother, whether she be a deceived innocent or not.

Whatever may have been her previous experiences, there is no question that the bringing into the world of an unfathered child is a severe trial to the mother; not only must she suffer, as all mothers do, but what should be one of the crowning glories of her life becomes its shame. All unmarried mothers, with the exception of the utterly hardened and the mentally defective, and perhaps even these to a greater extent than we sometimes imagine, approach motherhood under a mental strain and in an emotional condition which beggar description. For most of these unfortunates, economic worry complicates their physical and mental sufferings, and even for the most hardened, the obligation of caring for an infant adds to the difficulties of their lot; the wonder is, not that so many expectant unmarried mothers resort to abortion or attempt suicide, but that so few of them do. With the coming of the child there is to many the comfort of maternity; the child is their own and its love and affection bring some compensation. But the burden of its care is great—and when society offers to take care of it through baby-farms and

[24] Drury, *The Unmarried Mother and her Child,* Proceedings, Wisconsin Conference of Social Work, 1918, Madison, 1919, pp. 61–68.

[25] Kammerer, op. cit., p. 320.

foundling hospitals, the temptation is stupendous. Again the marvel is that so many do make the gallant attempt to retain their children; it speaks volumes for the strength of mother-love. Whatever the decision, and whatever the type of mother, there is no question that she, as well as the child, is socially, economically, and emotionally handicapped by her experience.

Causative Factors.—The factors that bring about unmarried motherhood are many, and can be analysed in various ways. In many respects they are identical with those which bring about sex irregularity. Kammerer lists the following in varying proportions as the causative major and minor factors in his cases: [26]

SUMMARY OF CAUSATIVE FACTORS BY GROUPS AND TOTALS IN 500 CASES

Groups of Causative Factors	Number of Times a Major Factor	Number of Times a Minor Factor	Total Number of Times Appeared as Factor
Bad Environment	29	56	85
Bad Companions	8	136	144
Recreational Disadvantages		22	22
Educational Disadvantages		20	20
Bad Home Conditions	194	158	352
Early Sex Experience		25	25
Physical Abnormality	6	53	59
Sexual Suggestibility	27	16	43
Sexually Suggestible by One Individual	38	4	42
Abnormal Sexualism	1	1	2
Mental Conflicts	3	2	5
Defects of Heredity		48	48
Assault, Rape, Incest	14		14
Not Analyzed	13		
Total	333		
Suggestive of Mental Abnormality and not included for this reason	167		
	500		

Almost every one of these causes is also the factor in cases of sexual delinquency which do not lead to motherhood. Mangold considers low mentality, lack of home training, overcrowding, drunkenness, sexual suggestibility, lack of religious training, the age factor, dangers of cer-

[26] Kammerer, op. cit., p. 320.

tain occupations, (for instance domestic service,) and an excessive proportion of unmarried men and women, as the important contributing factors.[27] All of these also contribute to sex offences and in general it must be said that whatever makes more possible the breaking of the sex mores adds to the possibility of increasing illegitimacy.

Mental Defect as a Causative Factor.—There are, however, certain of these factors which are especially important in regard to illegitimacy, and of these mental defect is the greatest. It is not necessarily that the mentally defective have any stronger passions than the normal,—indeed there is some reason to believe that the reverse is the case,—but their wills are weaker. This is especially important with the mentally defective woman. Physically she is mature, while her mental condition is that of a child. She does not look ahead to the consequences of her acts, and naturally falls an easy prey to men. Goddard's study of the illegitimacy ratio among the feeble-minded cases at Vineland shows that they contributed 40 per cent more illegitimate children than should be expected, and that this was especially true of the "hereditary" as contrasted with the "neuropathic" and "accidental" groups of the defectives.[28] A study of the mentality of unmarried mothers, reported to the National Conference of Social Work in 1917, showed that not more than 20 per cent of those studied were clearly normal, and that 40 per cent to 45 per cent were so clearly subnormal that they should have institutional care.[29] Tredgold asserts that 40 per cent of the illegitimacy in England occurs among the feeble-minded, although the figures he uses would seem to make 25 per cent nearer an exact estimate.[30] There is no question but that segregation, or placing under adequate supervision, of the mentally defective, particularly of women of child-bearing age, would not only reduce immorality, but would do away with much illegitimacy.

Alcohol and Illegitimacy.—Aside from mental defect, drunkenness undoubtedly is responsible for a considerable amount of illegitimacy. Partial intoxication lessens the inhibitions both of morality and of prudence. Prohibition, far from rendering this situation less common, seems to have increased the amount of drinking among young men and women, particularly in the upper strata of society. This situation is particularly serious, although naturally we have no statistical evidence on which to base our conclusions.

The Age of Consent.—Conditions which make it possible for men to exploit sexually very young girls also make for undesired pregnancy. Seventy-nine of Kammerer's cases were girls less than seventeen,

[27] Mangold, op. cit., pp. 36–79.

[28] Goddard, H. H., *Feeble-mindedness; its Causes and Consequences,* New York, 1914, p. 499.

[29] National Conference of Social Work, 1917, pp. 287-294.

[30] Tredgold, A. F., *Mental Deficiency,* p. 451.

and 110 more were eighteen or under. The raising of the age of consent—and especially more careful guardianship of young girls both by the home and by the state—might do something to prevent this horrible condition.

Ignorance and Illegitimacy.—Lack of education, and particularly ignorance of sex, unquestionably tends to increase the number of unmarried mothers. Far too many boys and girls know little of sex beyond what they learn on street corners and through obscene gossip. The responsibility of the home is vital at this point, but that of society acting through the school and the church is no less great.

Feminism and Illegitimacy.—It may be that the increasing emphasis on woman's rights, including the right of parenthood, as advocated by Ellen Key, for instance, may do something to increase the number of illegitimate births, although this is rather doubtful. Such children, at any rate, would be desired, and ordinarily their mothers would consciously make plans for their care, so that they ought not to constitute a social problem in the sense that the others do. At the same time they could not help but be somewhat handicapped both because of the attitude of society toward them, and even were that changed, because deprived of some advantages which education in a normal home with both father and mother would give them.

Sex Irregularity a Primary Cause.—In general, it can be said that any situation which promotes sexual irregularity promotes illegitimacy; and that the way to prevent illegitimacy is to prevent sexual irregularity. In addition to such general measures to that end as will be indicated later, the prevention of illegitimacy would call for special emphasis on elimination and care of the feeble-minded, adequate sex education, and proper guardianship of the young of both sexes.

Paternity of Illegitimate Child.—Partly as preventive and also in order to insure better care of both mother and child through increased economic assistance, a definite effort should be made in every case to ascertain the paternity of the child and to see that the father contributes toward its support. In our country this is generally done through so-called "bastardy" proceedings, which are civil in nature, and in most states are entirely inadequate. They make it appear as if the virtue of a woman were something that could be bought and sold. In some states bastardy is a crime, and in Minnesota and Massachusetts particularly the father of an illegitimate child can be forced to support it and its mother in exactly the same way as a legitimate child, once the paternity is established. In Germany the state assumes the position of guardian and public officials are obliged to make every effort to locate the father. On the other hand, in France, under the Code Napoléon, it is a crime to attempt to locate the father. A bringing home of the responsibility of parenthood to the fathers, who

otherwise would entirely escape the consequences of their offence, would act decidedly in the nature of a preventive. It should be made much easier than it now is for an unmarried mother to bring proceedings for this purpose. The Court of Domestic Relations, where one exists, or special sessions with women probation officers present at the very least, and an elimination so far as is consonant with justice of procedure which requires telling and retelling of obnoxious details, are desirable. The elimination of the defence adduced by the putative father that others than he have also had sexual relations with the mother is also important; if such defence is admitted, all those of whom this is proved should be collectively responsible for the care of the child and mother. Aside from the care of the mentally defective, no other step would do so much to eliminate illegitimacy as active placing of responsibility and opprobrium on the male as well as the female partner. This does not necessarily, or even generally, mean that the two should be forced to marry; indeed this is often only exchanging temporary for permanent maladjustment. The question of marriage depends entirely on the circumstances of the case; but there is no question as to the absolute justice of equal sharing of economic and social responsibility.

Care of Unmarried Mothers.—In addition to prevention so far as is possible, society is obligated to do something in most cases for the care of both the mother and her child, at least temporarily. The foundling hospital and the baby-farm have hitherto been the agents through which society has worked, with such results as have been seen. Both violate one of the fundamental canons of experience, that with a normal mother, and often with a sub-normal one, it is best to keep mother and child together, at any rate during the first years. Such institutions as the Florence Crittenden Homes and the Salvation Army Maternity Homes do this for a period of months, and in this way do much to save the child's life and to kindle in the mother her latent maternal affection. On the other hand, some such institutions, having cared for the mother and baby for a limited time, are too apt to feel that their job is done when the baby is six months or a year old, and then to let the mother go without supervision. Other institutions, however, attempt to train the mother along some line, and then get work for her where she can keep her baby, and still others continue their watchful care over a period of years. Where the state assumes the position of guardian for all illegitimate children, as in parts of Germany, the state itself sees to such care and placing and attempts to aid the mother in every way. State aid should not ordinarily include grants of money, but should rather confine itself to service, relying on the father for financial aid, and forcing him to give it wherever possible. It is not so difficult as it may seem to find good homes for unmarried

mothers and their children, especially where it is not necessary to tell the whole truth to the community. Many an unmarried mother is living happily with her child as "Mrs. ——" in a neighborhood which knows nothing of her past, and despite some objectors, most people feel that forbidding her this verbal protection is much like compelling her and her child to wear the scarlet letter.

Importance of Registration.—The birth of every illegitimate child should be registered, and in order that it may have protection, legal, social, and economic, should be immediately reported to the State Board of Charities, which should be empowered to act as guardian. This would involve an adequate birth-registration system, which we have not yet in the United States, and an authority on the part of the state to regulate maternity homes and foundling asylums, which is certainly justified from every angle. Such action on the part of the state would do much to prevent the awful infant mortality among these children and to see that mother and child are properly provided for.

Placing-out of Unmarried Mother and Child.—The general principles of placing-out apply to illegitimate as well as to legitimate children, with the exception that where the mother and child are kept together an additional factor enters. The same standards of case-study and supervision are necessary. Unfortunately, many unmarried mothers are not fitted morally or mentally to care for their offspring, and these children should be cared for as other neglected children. Then, too, there is the recurring problem of whether in certain types of cases it is always desirable to live up to the generally accepted rule and keep mother and child together. Certain mothers, who love their children and can perfectly well provide for them, cannot do so if they are obliged to keep the child themselves, and others who are fond are not good mothers. For some of these a day-nursery arrangement, as suggested previously, and for others a good boarding arrangement, may be preferable.

The Neglected Child

The neglected child is frequently dependent, and he frequently becomes delinquent; but neglect exists unaccompanied by dependency or delinquency, and it should be recognized as a separate condition. There are no satisfactory statistics regarding the number of neglected children. The Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which deals entirely with families in which the children are neglected, gave service in the year ending October 31, 1922, to 5,040 families, with a total number of 13,008 children.[31] Although this is perhaps the best organized society of its kind in the country, it does not

[31] Mass. S. P. C. C., 42nd Annual Report, p. 25.

claim to deal with all the neglected children in the state; other agencies, the juvenile court, local authorities, etc., take care of many others and undoubtedly many escape attention. There is no reason to assume that the proportion of neglected children is greater in Massachusetts than in the country as a whole; 15,000, then, would seem to be a moderate estimate out of the population of 4,000,000 in Massachusetts, and applying the same ratio to the country as a whole, 300,000 to 350,000 neglected children would probably be not far from the truth.

Definitions of Neglect.—Definitions of neglect vary but the detailed statement made by the Connecticut Commission on Child Welfare embodies what most progressive communities consider "neglect," as follows:

1. a child who is abandoned and who may not support himself lawfully without becoming chargeable with neglect;
2. who is living in a house of ill-fame, or with vicious, disreputable, immoral or criminal persons;
3. whose home by reason of the improvidence, depravity, neglect or cruelty of parents or legal custodians is unfit;
4. who is permitted by parents or legal guardian to grow up in idleness, vice or crime, or under conditions exposing him to idleness, vice or crime;
5. who begs or receives alms;
6. whose parents, when able to do so, refuse to provide surgical, medical, or other remedial care of which the child is in need;
7. who is in need of special care because of mental defectiveness, and whose parents refuse to provide such training or to make application for admission of such child to the state school;
8. whose home environment, social environment, or both, is such as to warrant the state in assuming guardianship;
9. who engages in any occupation illegally, or legally under conditions prejudicial to his normal development, physically, socially, mentally, and morally;
10. who is born out of wedlock and may not support himself without becoming chargeable with neglect—(as defined in the preceding paragraphs.)

It will be seen from the above that neglect may consist of any one of a number of conditions prejudicial to the child's well-being, for the prevention of which the state, as the ultimate guardian of all its children, is responsible. Dr. C. C. Carstens, the secretary of the Child Welfare League of America, outlines a program of prevention of neglect to cover the following factors in child life: [32] protection against physi-

[32] Summary of Dr. Carstens' Statement, quoted by Shultz, W. J., *The Humane Movement in the United States,* New York 1924, pp. 207–209.

cal brutality; protection against early, exhausting and degrading labor; provision of proper medical care where necessary; protection of young girls against sex irregularity; protection of children against immoral associates; enforcing of support of children by parents whether the child be legitimate or illegitimate; provision of necessary care for crippled and other handicapped or defective children; and the protection of children from constant contact with "habitual gamblers, drug users and criminals."

The statements of Dr. Carstens and the definitions of the Connecticut Commission show clearly of what the problem of neglect consists, and with these varied manifestations in mind it will be apparent that the estimate given above errs on the side of conservatism. The mere statement of the case involves a consideration of the results of neglect—dependency; criminality; sex irregularity and prostitution; illegitimacy; child labor; ignorance; and almost all the ills to which flesh is heir fall in its train. Dependency and delinquency seem frequently unavoidable; neglect can be almost entirely prevented, although if allowed to continue too long, its unfortunate results often cannot be cured.

Seriousness of Neglect Problem.—Fundamentally the prevention of child neglect is a police function; while the care of the neglected child, who for one reason or another must be removed from his own home, approximates the care of dependent children. More and more, however, we are coming to see that adequate attention to neglect in its incipient stages is a thoroughly good social investment. The methods by which neglect may be eliminated are various; the first step is to convince the public of the gravity of the situation. The delinquent and the dependent force themselves on the attention and the compassion of the community; social workers and students of applied sociology should by propaganda based on a study of cases which come before the courts and the children's agencies make plain to everyone the seriousness of neglect as a cause of more obvious community problems. This would naturally mean the enactment of far more stringent laws than most states possess defining what neglect is, and providing agencies for its treatment, and penalties for those responsible.

The Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.—Until laws and courts are able to cope with the situation adjustments must be made through private agencies. The Massachusetts Society, the statistics of which have been quoted previously, began fifteen years ago to undertake adequate treatment of the neglect problem. It has probably done more than any other single agency to convince the nation of the existence of the problem, and has pointed out the way to meet it. Before its new program was adopted, in common with most child protective agencies in the United States, of whom the

New York S. P. C. C. was the leader, it had considered its function purely as a police affair. Cases of abject cruelty and neglect were cared for through the courts, and children were taken from their homes in large numbers. The Massachusetts Society believed that in conformity with the best social practice action should begin earlier, and that the aim of the organization was rehabilitation of homes rather than their break-up. Just as in cases of dependency the principle is established that the child's own home is the best place for him, so in cases of neglect every effort should be made to render the home fit for the child before legal action is taken to remove the child. This policy has become dominant in all progressive child protective work today. Less than a fifth of the families cared for by the Massachusetts Society in 1922, for instance, required any court action at all, and even in those cases a large number of the children were returned to their own homes under court supervision. It has been found that neglect involves in itself all the varied physical, psychological, economic and social factors which enter into all unadjusted family situations, and that the technique of good case-work which requires careful investigation, diagnosis, and treatment, with or without court action as circumstances determine, works just as well in this type of case as it does with dependents. In other words, the good child protective agency develops a specialized type of family work emphasizing home conservation, and even where children must be removed temporarily it endeavors wherever possible to reconstruct the home and return the child.

Changes in Protective Work.—That neglect cases can be cared for in this way, the records not only of the Massachusetts Society, but of those of the Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Ohio Humane Societies prove. Thousands of cases of neglect, ranging from lack of medical provision to sex exploitation and even physical cruelty of the worst type, have been handled satisfactorily during the past ten or fifteen years. Other "Cruelty" societies have followed the pioneer example of Massachusetts; the New York Society, which has adhered closest to its police functions, announced in its 1919 report that "the rehabilitation of homes has continued to be a most gratifying feature of our work." The development of these private organizations has made clear the goal toward which those interested in preventing child neglect must aim: constant careful case-work directed toward rehabilitation where possible, and an equally constant effort to place before society the factors which bring about neglect, so that needed legislation shall be secured, and more important still, the social and economic conditions which lie back of neglect shall be eliminated. Alcoholism, illegitimacy, sex irregularity, lax standards of family life, mental defect,—these and other underlying causes have been pointed out. The lack of sex education is important here as elsewhere; and perhaps most

important of all is the utter lack both in our educational system, our churches, and our homes themselves, of any appreciation of the significance of family life. We allow anyone to set up a family; as Mrs. Dummer points out our marriage standards are based on economic considerations rather than on biology and psychology.[33] Society should see to it that high standards of family life are inculcated in the young of both sexes.

Administrative Developments in Child Protection.—From the point of view of administration there are several interesting developments in the protective field. The state-wide program of many societies has been most valuable in the development of rural social work in general. The necessarily close association with courts, both in the city and country, in the states where the organizations have become socialized, has done much for the socialization of the courts themselves. Another less satisfactory feature of child protective work has come from the close association in some communities of protective efforts for children and animals. In many states protective work for children was far slower in developing than similar work for animals, and often an animal agency—generally the Humane Society—developed into child protective work as a side-line. Too often it has remained a side-line ever since; the main emphasis is on dogs and cats. The Humane Societies are generally antagonistic to the social service developments in children's work; their staffs are ill-equipped for this purpose, and the additional expense involved appears serious. Then, too, the publicity value of children's work is far less. A horse rescued from an abusive owner can be photographed in the public press; good children's work requires the same secrecy as is necessary in medicine. The better societies have in general entirely separated themselves from animal work, although in some instances with a very considerable loss of financial support. The preference which some charitably disposed people give to animals over children is difficult to explain.

Child Protection under State Auspices.—The prevention of neglect, more than many other types of social adjustment, seems destined to become a state function. Already the police, especially where there are police women and a socialized system, are taking over much of the technique and methods of the children's societies, and with the improvements already under way in our police system and our courts will take over more. This change is naturally the greatest in the states where the best type of work has been done in the private societies; the secretary of the Massachusetts Society, for instance, has announced that in his opinion the time is not far distant when the state will take over the entire S. P. C. C.'s staff and program, leaving

[33] Foreword to W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl,* Boston, 1924, p. VI.

the private organization free to deal with the more experimental work, especially along the lines of education in parenthood, sex hygiene, and recreation.[34] Some of the states that have been slow in the development of private organizations are now starting county welfare work of one kind or another, and these county agents, many of whom are well-trained social workers, assume as part of their official function the socialized treatment of neglect cases. In rural districts there are advantages in maintaining a generalized organization, with a case-worker who can deal with various social problems; but there is so much that is highly specialized that there remains a need for a central body—either the State Board of Public Welfare or a private society—to provide specialists who can assist the general worker in the country on difficult cases, as well as deal with the larger number of such cases in the cities.

Social Cost of Neglect.—It is impossible to over-estimate the cost of neglected childhood. Our laws and courts have emphasized the old English notion that a man's house is his castle, in which he can do as he likes. Gradually the wife has exempted herself from the control of the *paterfamilias,* and become an individual with rights and privileges. The home *is* sacred, but chiefly because normally it protects and cherishes its children; when it obviously and flagrantly fails to do so society should recognize the obligation to interfere. Gradually our laws and our practice are coming to take this position.

Future of Child Protection.—The enforcement of such laws and in particular the prevention of neglect must ultimately depend on the sentiment of the community, expressed through either public or private agencies. So far the most effective agency for dealing with neglected children seems to be the privately supported children's agency, which has envisaged its function as family rehabilitation rather than as prosecution. The movement for the protection of children is still young; but it possesses great possibilities. It is in the truest sense of the word preventive. As just noted, there is already manifest a decided tendency for the state government to take over much of the technique and the work of the child protective agency through its police force and juvenile court officers, a development which the more progressive private societies are encouraging. This is indicative of the definitely increasing feeling on the part of society that of all the tasks committed to the state none is more vital than that of guaranteeing to every child born a fair chance of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." To do this the absolute elimination of neglect is essential, and experience in sections of the country here and there has shown that it is possible. This must mean in some cases taking children from their parents and placing them as other dependent children are

[34] Shultz, op. cit., p. 223.

placed. It ought also to mean bringing home to the parent his responsibility, by court action if necessary,—but it usually is not. The neglect is often unconscious, and even when conscious may often be cured by patient education. Child neglect is unquestionably less prevalent today than ever before in the past; eugenics, higher standards of family life, and increased knowledge of the child, both physically and mentally, combine to make it increasingly less, and when to these forces there is added a vigilant organization, either public or private, with the necessary equipment to deal with such incipient cases as occur, the outlook for the reduction of neglect to the comparatively few cases of the mentally and morally defective is bright.

The Delinquent Child

Most delinquent children are neglected; many are dependent; and still others are defective. With girls, in particular, delinquency is especially noticeable in matters of sex, and many of their problems might be discussed in the chapter dealing with sex. Again, it may be contended that the chief causative factors in juvenile delinquency are improper family adjustments, and it might be possible to deal with most aspects of the delinquent child problem along with the problems of the family. It has seemed best, however, to discuss the delinquent children as a separate group along with the other groups of thwarted children, for the reason that delinquency has become a definitely recognizable condition and that the adjustments which have been and should be made to prevent and treat it have been of a highly specialized nature.

Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Crime.—The treatment of juvenile delinquency developed historically from the treatment of adult crime, and in this way it carries over much of the legalistic and penal paraphernalia. It is due to this fact that juvenile delinquents are much more carefully catalogued than other types of children in difficulties. They are or were classified in types according to the particular delinquency, in much the same way that criminals are sentenced in accordance with the gravity of the crime committed. This is not the case at present in more advanced communities, however, and the child who is delinquent—that is, who has in some way committed an act contrary to the mores of the group—is treated as a ward of the state in need of advice and assistance because he is in difficulty; often the particular type of difficulty is almost forgotten.

What Delinquency Implies.—The term "delinquency," as applied to children, is exceedingly elastic. Originally it was practically synonymous with what would be termed "crime," if committed by an adult, but in the more progressive communities it has been felt that since

prevention is the aim of the state in dealing with young offenders they should be reached as early as possible. Hence in different states one may find children considered delinquent by law who have violated any state law or ordinance; who are incorrigible—a term itself susceptible of many meanings; who are truants; who associate with immoral persons; who use vile or obscene language; who jump on moving trains; etc., etc. Colorado was the first state to extend the use of the term so widely, but its example has been followed in other states with the idea that such an elastic definition gives the state power to control and prevent later and more serious offences.[35]

Separation of Juvenile and Adult Offenders.—It was on the question of age that the first legal separation of adult and juvenile offenders was made. Until 1899 in most parts of the world children who had broken a law were dealt with the same as adults. They were arrested, placed in cells in the police station, tried in the ordinary police court, and could be fined or imprisoned. Massachusetts as early as 1869 provided for separate trials for children, but the common law was administered, which held a child of seven liable for his acts. With the enactment of the Illinois Juvenile Court Law in 1899 boys up to 17 and girls up to 18 were declared delinquents instead of criminals and provided with an altogether different system of care. The difference between the juvenile criminal and the juvenile delinquent is well expressed in the Colorado statute which states that the latter is "misdirected and misguided and needing aid, encouragement, help and assistance." [36] Thus children were dealt with as wards of the state under a chancery procedure, rather than under a criminal procedure. Most of the states make the age limit 16 and 17 respectively for boys and girls, although Kentucky follows Illinois, while Nebraska, Louisiana, and Oregon have made the limit 18 for both and Utah has raised it to 19 years. Not all the states have adopted the delinquent terminology and many others still retain vestiges of the criminal procedure in dealing with juvenile offenders, but the fact that many of them have done so justifies us in looking at the delinquent child from the broadest possible angle.

Where Delinquents Come From.—Who make up the delinquent children of the community? According to Breckinridge and Abbott they come predominantly from the poorer classes. Of several hundred cases studied in Chicago less than 2 per cent came from comfortable homes and none at all from those of wealth.[37] This does not necessarily mean that the children of the comfortably circumstanced or the wealthy do not commit offences, but that in general their problems

[35] See Breckinridge and Abbott, *The Delinquent Child and The Home*, New York, 1917, pp. 250–252.

[36] Law of Colorado (L. 1903, Ch. 85, No. 12)—followed by Missouri and Tennessee.

[37] Breckinridge and Abbott, op. cit., pp. 70–72.

do not become public. Moreover, on the whole, success, financial and social, is roughly correlated with intelligence, and in general it is not the intelligent, whether adults or children, who commit crimes,—certainly not who get caught. The occasional glaring exception often blinds observers to this general truth.

It is difficult to label the classes of the population from which most juvenile offenders come, because so many of unfortunates are victims of more than one maladjustment, and might be classified from many different angles. The Chicago investigators have grouped them as follows:

The Child of the Immigrant,
The Poor Child,
The Orphan and Homeless Child,
The Child from the Degraded Home,
The Child from the Crowded Home,
The Ignorant Child,
The Child without Play,
The Child from the Comfortable Home.

It is easy to see how these terms overlap; many immigrants are poor, live in crowded tenements, and have defective schooling; they may be orphans or homeless, or come from degraded families, or lack recreation; one child might suffer in all these respects. With two additions, and those most important ones,—of the child who is mentally or physically defective, and of the child who is afflicted with a neurosis of one kind or another,—the above classification, however, covers most types of delinquent children.

Causative Factors in Delinquency.—Certain special social maladjustments occur again and again, among the most important of which are:

Mental Defect,
Working Mothers,
Immoral Home Life,
Broken Homes,
Neglected Neighborhoods,
Child Labor, especially the street trades.

Mental Defect.—The premier position in this as in most other social maladjustments must be given to mental defect. Possibly it is because more of the feeble-minded or sub-normal get caught, but all studies bear out the conclusions of Healey and Goddard that the factors making for delinquency, mental abnormality, and particularly mental defect are more important than all others put together.[38] The reasons for this are obvious; children of defective mentality generally come

[38] See Healey, W., *The Individual Delinquent*, Boston, 1915, p. 130, and Goddard, *Feeble-Mindedness*, New York, 1914, pp. 514–518.

from defective stocks and hence are handicapped by both environment and heredity, and they have none of the inhibitions which prevent normal individuals from violating the mores of the group. This is even more true with girls than with boys, since the offences of which girls are guilty are predominantly concerned with sex, and the feeble-minded girl is easily exploited.

Mental Conflicts.—Mental conflicts are also an important factor in creating juvenile delinquency, as Miss VanWaters points out in *Youth in Conflict.* These originate from many sources, perhaps the most important of which has to do with sex matters; improper or inadequate sex education leads to difficulties which may make themselves manifest in quite other phases of life. For instance, running away from home, stealing, brutality to other children, etc., may often be traced to unanswered questions in the child's mind about sex. Conflicts between parent and child, questions as to moral conditions in the home, folk-lore beliefs, and morbid concentration on one's own physical condition are also common. The odd thing about such cases is what psychologists call their ambivalence,—that is, their emerging to the surface in acts which apparently have no connection with the basic causes. The child himself is frequently unconscious of their existence, and it is only the patient probing of the psychiatrist that reveals these hidden sources of trouble. Once revealed they can be treated, and not infrequently the anti-social acts are discontinued.

Physical Defects.—Closely associated with these mental abnormalities are physical abnormalities; the child who is either over- or under-developed is likely to get into difficulties, and certain defects and diseases often lead to anti-social acts. The latter factor is especially prominent when the diseased or handicapped condition apparently condemns the individual to a subordinate position; he overcomes it by achieving notoriety through delinquency. Over-development of sex and general over-development with respect to age are especially dangerous both for boys and girls. Adult physical characteristics are present without a mature mind to control them.

Migration and Delinquency.—The special difficulty of adjustment which affects immigrants and their children is obvious; it was perhaps especially noticeable in a large foreign center like Chicago, but it exists wherever there are immigrants. The differences in language, the break-up of customs, the new temptations, all increase strain. That it is not entirely a matter of language becomes evident from the fact that colored children who move north, and to a lesser extent country-born children who move to the city, show the same difficulty. Truancy and lack of attention to schooling are particularly common in the immigrant group, and here careful and understanding

work on the part of social agencies can do much to prevent later and more serious developments.

Poverty and Delinquency.—That poverty and crime are twins is a platitude; especially is this the case where children are deprived of the oversight of the mother who works away from the home. Fortunately the development of mothers' pensions is doing much to obviate this situation. The necessity, or seeming necessity, for the child to be earning, and his early initiation into economic life are also factors due to apparent or real poverty. Newsboys and street traders generally form a very large proportion of boys who get into difficulty, and boys and girls who leave school early and go into "blind-alley" occupations are another large ingredient in the grist of the juvenile court. The fact that it is the oldest child in the family who most frequently gets into difficulties seems to bear out this statement. Certain kinds of work appear to present more problems than others; this is especially true with girls where domestic service with its monotony and ease of access which heads the list of Chicago offenders; [39] factory work, also monotonous and underpaid, bulks large both for boys and girls; and stores, restaurants, and laundries contribute. These are jobs for which no training is necessary and which are open to the children of impoverished families. The dangers to young girls particularly in the associations and temptations which such occupations bring are obvious, and scarcely need the elaboration which the convincing case paragraphs in Breckinridge and Abbott give.[40] Street begging and such offences as the stealing of coal from railroads are also evidences of the extent to which poverty directly influences delinquency.

Neglect and Delinquency.—The dangers inherent in the loss of parents and consequent institutionalism have already been noted. The older child who has no home at all is an even more pitiable case. That such children become delinquent is almost in the nature of the case. The same situation exists in the neglected home; the neglected child, particularly the child who is morally neglected, is doubly handicapped; inheritance and environment are both against him. That some such unfortunates can be influenced to lead useful normal lives, is distinctly to the credit of the adjustment which court and social agency are beginning to make.[41]

Housing and Delinquency.—Crowding is also obviously, though less frequently, a cause of delinquency. Such crowding may be due to

[39] Ibid., p. 78.

[40] Ibid., pp. 314–332.

[41] For excellent illustrations of this type of work see S. Van Senden Theis, *How Foster Children Turn Out,* Pub. 165, New York State Charities Aid, particularly Chapter VI.

two distinct causes; either the housing may be poor and inedequate, as is the case in the English cities, for instance, and the rents may be abnormally high, or the family itself may be so large or so add to its numbers by taking in boarders that the result is confusion and lack of privacy.

Large Families.—The size of the family itself has an important bearing on juvenile delinquency. The Chicago investigation revealed the fact that among the families of 584 delinquent boys there were in 277 cases (47 per cent) six or more children, and in 122 cases (21 per cent) eight or more. Among 157 families of the girls in 54 cases (34 per cent) there were six or more children, and in 21 (13 per cent) eight or more.[42] The authors point out that their investigation of the girls was limited to the inmates of the Geneva Reformatory where there was an unduly large number of colored girls, and that colored families have a very small number of children; hence the discrepancy between the boys and girls. These large families tend to poverty and the early placing at work of the older members, as well as producing a crowded home life. That a Polish small boy should prefer sleeping in barns to sharing a small apartment with a family of ten, seems good sense rather than delinquency; or that an Irish boy should find sleeping under a house "peaceful and spacious" in contrast with attempting to sleep where eleven persons shared a three-room tenement, does not seem surprising. Nevertheless neither barns nor cellars nor "sleeping out nights" are desirable for small boys. Foreign families in particular seem to have little sense in regard to crowding. To an unlimited number of children many of them—for reasons of cupidity or of necessity—do not hesitate to add from one to six roomers or boarders, and the resulting confusion very often drives the children to the street. Indeed the parents are frequently glad to get them out from underfoot. Juvenile court records reveal a decidedly larger proportion of such cases than do the normal population.

Poor Education.—Ignorance and lack of schooling are coupled with poverty as among the evident causative factors in crime, whether juvenile or adult. Many of these cases are defective, or at least subnormal, but some of them have never had an opportunity for adequate schooling and others have escaped the vigilance of the attendance officers and attended school very irregularly. The first case is most common with the children of immigrants, especially those who came over just under the school age and attended school only for a few months, or not at all. The factor of irregular attendance is fortunately decreasing as our attendance departments become more efficient, and will decrease still more when our school curricula become more flexible and better adapted to the child's needs.

[42] Breckinridge and Abbott, op. cit., p. 116.

Inadequate Recreation.—The lack of recreational facilities is another important cause of delinquency. Many children steal and commit sex offences for fun; there is little else left in the way of adventure for adolescent minds bubbling over with the desire for new experience. The extension of the playground movement, the boy and girl scouts, the settlement houses and other leisure-time activities will do much for the city child. The country child has more natural resources, but fewer social opportunities.

The desire for adventure and the lack of opportunity for it not only effects the child of poverty, but it is one of the more important factors in the few so-called "comfortable" family groups which contribute children to the delinquents. The offences to which this desire gives rise are varied; among them are "the flipper" (jumping on and off freight cars); breaking windows; "being with other boys who broke street lamps and let out oil"; stealing watermelons; entering a church and destroying the key to the organ; selling transfers; shooting craps; always fighting; stealing chickens; holding up man with a revolver.[43] Some of these offences are legally very serious and others trifling, but they are all dangerous and all show a lack of normal recreational outlets. It will be noted that most of these are offences that boys commit. Girls, especially from comfortable homes, show less anti-social relation to their lack of adventure, at least while they are still juveniles. Nevertheless, a considerable proportion of sex offences are without doubt due to lack of "anything else to do." Even when inhibitions prevent overt acts there is no doubt that the suppressed desire for adventure and excitement is harmful and that it may work itself out in neurosis or later delinquency.

The Juvenile Court and Probation

The Juvenile Court is a social adjustment for dealing with delinquent children of which America may well be proud. It is a comparatively new institution, dating only from 1899. Its essential features have already been described in defining delinquency; its legal basis is found in the ancient courts of chancery which were responsible for the king's wards. Originally such proceedings were permissible only when there was property involved, but in its procedure the Juvenile Court places the child's general welfare in the same light as his property and assumes that the state is responsible for both. Any child who has come or is likely to come into difficulties with the law is *ipso facto* in need of the state's care and that care is exercised through the Juvenile Court. This

[43] Ibid., pp. 165–6.

is the method adopted in most of the states and followed in some foreign countries.

Specialized Children's Courts.—Some states have what they term Juvenile Courts, which are merely special courts to try children's cases. The ordinary criminal procedure is followed with variations, and these courts while manifestly a vast improvement on the old criminal court for children have neither the power to act as preventive agencies nor the effective jurisdiction which the Illinois type provides. New York, Maryland, and New Jersey are the states which still cling to the old criminal procedure, and there are other states in the union which still try children in the same way that adults are tried.

The Juvenile Court Judge.—The mechanism and personnel of the Juvenile Court are all important. Manifestly the judge is the key to the effectiveness of the court. He must be an individual with a pronounced social point of view and closely in touch with philanthropic institutions and the newer developments in social science, and also be a competent lawyer. Unfortunately, this is not always the case, even where judges give their full time to the Juvenile Court; in some states judges are selected from the bench by their associates, and in other jurisdictions each judge sits in turn on the juvenile bench. This is most unfortunate, as the type of case which comes before an ordinary court is quite different from that before a Juvenile Court. In some of the larger cities special Juvenile Court judges are elected by the people, or appointed by the governor, or by the Juvenile Court Commission, and deal with nothing but juvenile matters. This is much the better procedure; while the method which is fairly general all over the country, that of having ordinary police justices give part time to juvenile work, is thoroughly undesirable.

The Hearing.—Juvenile Courts should always be held in chambers, rather than in the court room, and in general the public should be excluded from the sessions, which in most cases should be absolutely informal. Occasional formality may be desirable in certain types of cases for the effect which it may produce, but ordinarily all legal formality should be dispensed with. The ordinary rules of evidence and the presence of attorneys to represent either plaintiff or defendant can often, although not always, be dispensed with to advantage. It is not chiefly a question of guilt or innocence of a specific misdemeanor, but a judicial inquiry in which the state, through the Juvenile Court, attempts to see what can best be done for one of its wards who is in difficulty.

The Petition.—Ordinarily children are brought into the Juvenile Court on summons after a petition which states that the child is becoming "delinquent," and the presence of the parents is usually required. More and more the Juvenile Court procedure is including

the power to prefer charges against parents or others held to contribute to the child's delinquency. These cases, ordinarily, cannot be heard in the Juvenile Court itself, but the court officer should be given power to make and prosecute such charges in the adult courts. The petition bringing the child into court can be filed by any reputable citizen, but in practice most Juvenile Courts are very careful in regard to the acceptance of such petitions and frequently require an investigation by their own officers before they will accept the petition.

The Evidence.—After a hearing has been held, the judge with all the evidence before him, which in a good Juvenile Court will include not only the statements of witnesses, those of the child himself and his parents, his teacher, perhaps, or his clergyman, or employer, but also the investigation of the court officer, and in the best courts on all serious cases a physical and mental examination by physician, psychiatrist or psychologist,—is given the widest latitude in making his findings. He has before him all sorts of possibilities, dismissal with a reprimand, or commitment to various types of institutions, public or private. What these latter types involve will be set forth in the following paragraphs.

The Investigating Officer.—In addition to the judges and probation officers all Juvenile Courts should be provided with investigating officers whose functions are just what their name implies, and who should be kept distinct from the probation staff. Each case should be carefully investigated before the hearing, and the judge should have the benefit of investigation and social diagnosis.

The Psychologist.—Another invaluable help has already been referred to: a psychologist should be available for every court. More and more social problems of varying sorts are being explained, understood, and solved with the aid of psychology. The Chicago, Boston, and Los Angeles courts have done wonderful work in this connection; the studies and results of Dr. Healey and Dr. Van Water have received nation- and even world-wide recognition. Much that we know of juvenile difficulties we owe to the psychological clinics attached to the courts, and every court, to be at all effective, should have such service available, either through public funds or, where that is impossible, through private philanthropy. There is scarcely an investment in social adjustment which will yield better returns than this. Supplementing this, careful medical service should also be at hand. This fortunately is usually available; even where public appropriations are lacking there are generally public-spirited physicians who gladly render this assistance to unfortunate children.

The Detention Home.—One other piece of mechanism must be noted,—the detention home. Children ought not under any conditions to be sent to jail or police station pending trial, and in some cases it is

impossible or undesirable that they should remain in their own homes. Where they are important witnesses in cases against others, especially in sex problems involving men, they will be approached and either married or spirited away; and often the conditions in which they are found are so revolting as to make return unthinkable. For this purpose a small receiving home is desirable, although some communities employ boarding homes where they place children pending investigation. Either the detention home or the boarding home can also be used to keep important child witnesses in certain types of cases. Such a home should be as different from a jail or police station as possible. It should be in charge of socially minded matrons and attendants, whose later evidence as to the child's conduct and attitude while in the home is often valuable. Most states have by law prohibited the incarceration of juveniles in an ordinary jail; the child prisoner is fortunately a thing of the past.

Probation.—The probation officer, next to the judge himself, and sometimes even more than the judge, is the most important part of the Juvenile Court. Adult probation developed in Massachusetts in 1869, and was generally connected with the suspended sentence; that is, defendants in criminal proceedings who were found guilty, instead of being sent to prison might be allowed to go free under the surveillance of a court official who was responsible for their behavior and who at any time could bring them back to the court for sentence. With the development of the Juvenile Court the probation system was seized on as the ideal mechanism. The children brought before the court are in need of "the care and guardianship of the state" and if they can be returned to their homes or placed in another home that care and guardianship can be best exercised through the probation officers.

To quote Baldwin and Flexner:

> "Mere surveillance is not probation. Probation is an intimate personal relation which deals with all the factors of a child's life, particularly his home. Its chief function is to adjust the forces of the community to the child. Every social agency is called into play, the object being to surround the child with a network of favorable influences which will enable him to maintain normal habits of life." [44]

This, then, is the job of the probation officer. It requires intelligence, training, interest in children, and continuous activity. Probation as a means of salvaging children has proved its usefulness; it has not always been successful, but where the right sort of probation officers are chosen the results have been remarkable. On the other hand,

[44] Baldwin and Flexner, *Juvenile Courts and Probation*, New York 1914, pp. 80–81.

there has been much juvenile probation which has been harmful, rather than helpful.

The Volunteer vs. the Paid Probation Officer.—Especially was this true in the early days of the courts when volunteer officers were used, because there were no funds to pay competent full-time officials. Some of these volunteers were the trained agents of private societies and these on the whole did good work, although the court was handicapped because they were not directly under its control. Part-time volunteer workers have in general been unsuccessful, although there are occasional exceptions. On the whole the tendency in the better courts is toward full-time probation officers selected on the basis of education, social work training and experience, and under civil service regulations. Adequate salaries are paid and competent men and women secured.

Specialization of Function.—There should be at least one male and one female probation officer attached to each court, and in the larger courts, a chief probation officer with a staff. Girls should not be assigned to male probation officers, and it is generally thought desirable, though not essential, to have a woman associate justice for some of the girl cases. The assignment of girls to women officers is desirable for the girl and is a necessary protection to the male officers. While women officers often handle boy cases creditably, the type of boy who comes before the Juvenile Court is much less likely to object to male guidance than to "petticoats." It is not necessary to assign officers along religious, racial, or color lines, although with large staffs that may be found desirable. In general, however, in the large cities a geographic distribution of the work is preferred, as the officer comes to know his neighborhood and its resources. Special types of cases sometimes require specially trained officers, although with an all-round well-equipped staff this is of less importance.

Duties of the Probation Officer.—The duties of the probation officer are those of a guardian: he is responsible for the welfare of his ward. He must know the child's home, his playmates, his school, his recreation, his physical condition, his work—and how to make available all that the community affords in these lines. If a child's own home is not satisfactory he ought to know where to secure the right sort of boarding home, either directly or through a competent children's agency, or to be able to advise the judge as to the proper institution for his charge, if that seems best. The duties and responsibilities of a probation officer are manifold. He is the hands and feet and the eyes and ears of the court; without him its services are limited to the court-room itself; with him its possibilities for good are manifold, and it becomes what it really is in many American cities, one of the most effective of all our social adjustments.

Juvenile Courts in Rural Districts.—The larger cities can and generally do provide adequate Juvenile Court services at public expense; the places which are uncared for are smaller centers and rural areas. Here the matter of expense and facilities is a hindrance. Nevertheless some states provide county or state Juvenile Courts which sit at the county seats. These courts are generally handicapped by inadequate appropriations for probation and investigation officers and psychological assistance. The most needed development of the Juvenile Courts lies in the country districts; their problems, if less numerous than those of the city, are equally important, and every effort should be made not only to see that a Juvenile Court is available to all children in need of its care, but that it is so equipped as to render them adequate service.

Institutions for Delinquents

In a preceding section the institution as a method of adjustment for the dependent child has been rather harshly criticized. With the delinquent the case is quite different. Of course, since the difficulty is largely with the home, the change from a bad family environment to a good one is often sufficient to correct the delinquency, and child-placing, either by agencies or by probation officers, is resorted to with a fair degree of success. A child who has become at all seriously delinquent, however, needs something more. Although every child, indeed every adult, is a "problem," the boy or girl who has committed anti-social acts is ordinarily a far more perplexing problem than one who has simply been neglected. Then, too, the juvenile delinquent in most communities is given every opportunity, under the careful surveillance and assistance of probation officer and Juvenile Court, before it is decided that he should be removed from his own home. Consequently the placing-out system for juvenile offenders, while often successful, cannot be used in a large proportion of cases. It can frequently be used to advantage after a child has had the advantages of institutional training, and indeed such placement has become customary in the best institutions, if the child cannot be returned to his own home. The child is on parole to the institution, the home is supervised by the placing staff of the institution, and both child and foster parent realize that the institution is responsible for the child, and that if anything goes wrong it can immediately be called upon for assistance. The after-care department of the institution is valuable also in industrial placement of the older children; employers are much more willing to take

them after they have been under the institutional regime, and the parole officers so far as possible prevent their entering "blind alley" occupations.

Types of Institutions.—Institutions of various kinds for the care of delinquent children are maintained by both public funds and private charity, although the recent tendency has been to consider them more and more as a state responsibility. In some states they are administered by the same body which controls the state penal institutions, on the ground that they are correctional in nature. This is a most unfortunate arrangement, as the prison atmosphere and attitude are not desirable. In general, however, separate boards control the institutions for juveniles, which are frequently private institutions which have been taken over by the state. In other states, the educational authorities administer them under the idea that they are simply an extension of the school system; this is especially the case where the institution is used principally for truants.

As to the institution itself, there is little to be added to the discussion of children's institutions in general. The large congregate institution is increasingly going out of favor and being replaced by small cottages, located in the country, where so far as possible a home-like atmosphere is maintained. The necessity for special attention to hygiene, mental and physical, is manifest. So much delinquency is attributable to ill-health and so much can be done by building up the bodies of these poor unfortunates and by straightening out the mental twists which have warped their lives, that no institution for delinquents should be considered satisfactory unless it has a good medical and psychological staff. This is especially true in the case of girls, but for both sexes careful examinations should be made on admission and any remediable defects attended to in the institution. The attendants, too, must be of a high order of intelligence, even more than in other institutions. The problems to be faced are on the whole more difficult, and specially trained men and women who have not only an interest in children but an intelligent understanding of social conditions and child psychology are absolutely necessary. This is the respect in which many otherwise admirable institutions are lacking. An excellent physical plant, splendidly located, with the best scientific service in medicine and psychology, will still fail to achieve the best results unless the house fathers and mothers who come in contact with the children know their job. This means better salaries than are frequently paid, and a divorce of purely menial tasks from those of the executive and the educator, but it is well worth the investment.

There is not so much contrast in this field between the results

attained by the publicly supported institutions and those under private control as in many other types of social work. Some of the state schools do magnificent work, while others are handicapped by inadequate grants and inferior personnel. Many of the private institutions, on the other hand, rely too largely on religious and moral suasion and have not the funds for the modern type of plant. Statements made by institutions of percentages of their children who have "made good" should always be taken with a rather large grain of salt, but there is no question that many institutions for delinquents have achieved wonderful results with most unpromising material.[45] There is on the whole a better percentage of success with boys than with girls; the reason probably is that on the whole sex offences, for which the majority of girls are committed, are considered more grave by society and the girl finds it much more difficult to live down her past. Hence the necessity of greater attention to girls; if so-called Christian society took to heart the attitude of Jesus to an adult woman who had sinned, there would be more hope for these unfortunate children, many of them the victims of early environment.

Institutional Self-government.—Some of the institutions are working out admirable educational and sociological methods; self-government, honor cottages, vocational education, a broadening of the school curriculum, have all developed faster in the institutions for delinquents than in the ordinary public school system. The handicap which the institution has is of course its isolation from ordinary life, and so far as possible its organization should strive to overcome that.

Segregation of Defectives.—One other caution is necessary in institutional work for delinquents: mental defectives and normal children should not be received in the same institution. Such separation is not always possible, but it makes the work of the institution far more satisfactory for both groups.

Supervision from Outside.—There is another consideration of fundamental importance in institutions for delinquents. Whether public or private, they ought always to be under the supervision of some public body which should have access to the institution itself and to its records at all times. Where there is a well-established Juvenile Court it is well to place this responsibility there, or if that does not seem desirable, with the State Board of Charity. This not only prevents exploitation and forestalls criticism, but it gives the court some idea of what it is doing with the children whom it commits

[45] For an excellent and most readable account of what can be accomplished with all types of *Children Astray* is found in the book of that name by Drucker and Hexter, Harvard University Press, 1923.

to the institution. Whether or not the actual supervision rests with the court, it should be obliged to inspect such institutions as it uses, and should have access, through its officers, to such of its charges as are committed.

General Function.—The institution, then, serves an absolutely indispensable function in connection with the juvenile delinquent. It not only provides him a home in place of one which is inadequate, but it attempts to give him physical, mental, and moral health in a way which few family homes can offer to those so handicapped. It also serves to protect the community and to see to it, through an adequate parole system, that when he returns he makes the correct adjustments under capable supervision. All institutions do not fulfill these functions; in so far as they do not they should be improved by the adoption of a state minimum standard to which every institution should conform, and that standard should be frequently changed in accordance with our growing knowledge of the social treatment of delinquents. The need for such institutions may ultimately disappear, but meanwhile the product of "delinquent homes" must in a large number of cases make their social adjustments through the institution.

Child Labor

No form of social maladjustment has received so much public discussion of late as child labor. This is, of course, largely due to the fact that after two attempts to regulate child labor through the ordinary channels of legislation, both of which were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, Congress finally passed in June, 1924, a constitutional amendment which would give it the necessary power to enact prohibitive legislation. This amendment is now before the states for approval, with apparently little hope of immediate enactment; consequently the public interest is keen in this particular type of thwarted childhood.

Child Labor vs. Child Work.—In spite of this public interest and discussion, there is considerable vagueness as to what child labor is, a vagueness which is partly responsible for the threatened defeat of the amendment. The difficulty consists in the fact that the opponents of the amendment confuse child *labor* with child *work*. The latter is a necessary and inevitable part of education and instead of being prohibited should be encouraged. Every child should be made to do a certain amount of *work*, and it is by no means the intention of the child labor reformers to interfere with it in any way. But

"Work at the wrong time, in the wrong place, in excessive amount, of too severe nature and duration, all other things considered, and not the work

alone, is an infringement of the rights of childhood, and as such is degradation of work." [46]

Such work is *child-labor.* It is child labor that

"deprives (children) of a fair start in life . . . in terms of health, play, recreation, that deprives them of their rightful opportunities of living the life of childhood fully and happily . . . and that deprives them also of proper preparation for adult life by putting adult burdens too early upon their shoulders." [47]

Unwise Emotionalism.—Another misconception in regard to child labor is caused by some of the propaganda against it which, as one writer puts it, is "emotionally careless of facts." The horrors of the early days of child labor in England and in this country are still being used by over-zealous reformers as arguments for changes in our present system. Few dark spots in history can compare with the story of the child-worker who toiled in the mills early in the Industrial Revolution, and in some of our southern states until very recently, and even today in China, where the Industrial Revolution is in its infancy. But those conditions are of the past in America, and it is folly and worse to imply that they exist here today. The average man knows that he is being imposed upon, and even if he is startled temporarily, his interest immediately cools when he is shown that the conditions which aroused it do not really exist. To quote Fuller again:

The first and most important function of child-labor reform is to inform—to enlighten, not to exaggerate. . . . Child Labor, its evil and its menace, cannot be exaggerated. What can be exaggerated is the extent of child labor in its older and more hideous forms and aspects. . . . Such instances of emotionalism riding rough-shod over the facts are at once a foolish negation of the splendid accomplishment . . . of the last two decades and a hindrance to the light of truth that shall make the children free at last.[48]

History of Child Labor Agitation.—Child labor in its modern sense dates from the Industrial Revolution when industry was taken from the home and placed in the factory. Child labor had existed long before, and much of it was arduous and unpleasant; but the child laborer in his own home was safeguarded by that fact itself, and when he was employed outside, the apprenticeship system of the craft gilds, which was enforced by the courts, protected him against the worst abuses. Before the Industrial Revolution the craft gilds and their regulations went to pieces, and in England in the late eight-

[46] Fuller, Raymond G., *Child Labor and the Constitution,* New York, 1923, p. 28.
[47] Ibid., p. VII, Introduction by John H. Finley.
[48] Ibid., pp. 14–15.

eenth and early nineteenth centuries child laborers, at first paupers, and later the children of free laborers, suffered under almost unbelievable conditions. A similar situation, but somewhat mitigated, came to America with the advent of the factory system. English philanthropists and statesmen were not long in realizing the worst evils of the system, and legislation regulating hours and conditions of labor of children appeared on the English statute books almost a hundred years before America realized what was happening. It takes a large amount of child labor—as with any other evil—to make its results manifest. In general the early agitation against child labor in this country was in connection with the demand of the workers that their children should receive a minimum of education, and education and work were found incompatible. It was not till 1870 or thereabouts that the evil of child labor with its long hours and unsanitary conditions was recognized by itself, and it is only comparatively recently that the indirect influence of child labor has been recognized. It is only within ten years that every state in the union has had a compulsory school attendance law, and some form—however weak and inadequately enforced—of child labor statute.

Reduction of Child Labor.—The achievements of the decade from 1910 to 1920 in reducing the actual amount of child labor have been remarkable. The figures for the years 1880–1920 as taken from the census reports on children gainfully employed follow:

Census	No. Employed	Per cent. of total number
1880	1,118,356	16.8
1900	1,750,178	18.2
1910	1,990,225	18.4
1920	1,060,858	8.5

Although there is considerable reason to believe that the census of 1920 under-enumerated the number of working children, there is no doubt that there was a considerable falling-off. One reason for the amount of the decrease lies in the fact that the 1920 census was taken in January, when the number of children employed in agriculture and kindred occupations, the largest users of child labor and those which showed the greatest decrease, 54.8 per cent, would be at a low point, whereas the 1910 census was taken in April, when agriculture would be employing many more. There is ground to believe, also, that the actual *number* employed has increased rather than decreased since 1920. In that year the country was undergoing an industrial depression and the federal child labor tax was in force. The reports of the Federal Children's Bureau show a very considerable increase in the number of working certificates issued to children in the years 1922 and 1923 over 1920 and 1921, in many

cities running to more than 100 per cent. But with all due allowance for this increase and for the possible under-enumeration of 1920, there is no question but that the tide is turning.

Present Extent of Child Labor.—Nevertheless the fact that approximately ten per cent of the children in the country, considerably over a million of them all told, are at this moment employed more than half of the time, constitutes a most serious social problem.

Distribution.—Child labor is confined to no one section of the country nor to any one industry. According to the 1920 census the Pacific Coast states employ the fewest children—about 3 per cent—and the southeastern-central states (Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi)—the most, 17 per cent. In Mississippi more than one-quarter of the children from ten to fifteen are at work, and Alabama and South Carolina almost equal this unenviable record with 24 per cent; Georgia has 21 per cent and Arkansas 19 per cent. It must be borne in mind that a large proportion of these children are colored, —but they are children all the same. In New England, Rhode Island heads the list with 13 per cent employed, and also has the unpleasant distinction of being the only state in the union which showed an increase of child labor in the decade 1910–1920, and having in Woonsocket the city with the highest proportion of child labor in the United States, 18.7 per cent. No other northern state approaches the condition of Rhode Island.

Among the occupations, agriculture is the greatest offender, followed at a considerable distance by manufacturing, in which the textile interests predominate, almost half being in the cotton mills.

The Mill Child.—The harmful effects of child labor in the textile mills are obvious, so obvious in fact that the northern states—except Rhode Island—have done away with it to a very large extent or are fast doing so. The southern states industrial development of which came later are going through the same process as the North,—handicapped, however, by the greater degree of poverty and the greater ignorance of both white and colored population—the heritage of slavery. The hours in the mills are shorter than they used to be, but are still far too long, and the sanitary and hygienic conditions are still far from ideal. The humid atmosphere, inadequate ventilation, stooping posture, monotonous employment, and a hundred and one other details of the work blend with the rough contacts of the spinning room to make it a "school of lost opportunities and heavy fees" for the children of the nation. In 1920 no less than 54,649 children were attending this school.

Other Employed Children.—Other occupations have hardly less serious charges to answer. Mining, which used to employ thousands of breaker boys and underground workers, is almost clear of child

labor today—only 7,191 being tabulated in all the United States in 1920. The conditions under which the 63,368 children in "trade" and the 54,006 children in domestic and personal service are employed are not, however, satisfactory. Many of these are young girls, and the studies of juvenile delinquents show that both types of occupation present serious problems. Of the two, the heartless exploitation and lack of comradeship which is the lot of many girls employed in family homes is in some respects more cruel than that of their brothers and sisters in the factory.

Three kinds of child labor demand special attention, as they are the types about which little has so far been done and which in some respects present the most important problems. These are the rural child-laborer; the street trader; and the home-worker.

Rural Child Labor.—The average American finds it difficult to realize that children labor unduly in the country. On the one hand, we have been so consistently narrowed by stories of exploitation of children in mills and mines, and on the other, country life has been so consistently idealized—by those who have left the country—that the statements continually being made by recent investigators to the effect that child labor is not only larger numerically in the country but also "presents there some of its worst and most damnable forms," seem unbelievable. A consideration of some of the developments in agriculture in the last hundred years may help to clear the situation. Agriculture has been affected by the industrial revolution both directly and indirectly. The indirect effect perhaps has been the more important; the farm of a hundred years ago was practically a self-sufficient community carrying on a multitude of handicrafts in addition to the farming itself, and was a genuine training school for youth. Today it buys its manufactured products from the city, and often all but a few agricultural staples. The introduction of farming machinery has affected agriculture directly so that in many sections agriculture itself has become largely industrialized; the farmer no longer cultivates his own small farm, but large crops are planted, cultivated and harvested by hired hands and their families, so that the farm itself has become a veritable factory. Although this may be better for agriculture economically, it presents serious difficulties from the point of view of child workers.

Not all farm work is harmful, even under modern industrialized conditions, but:

> When a child spends most of his time at routine work such as hoeing, ploughing, washing dishes, making beds and doing chores, the educational value is slight. This is only drudgery, is easily learned and prepares him for nothing better.

A study by the writer of the above statement, Mr. Armentrout of the National Child Labor Committee, of the everyday occupations of two hundred and sixty children on farms brought out the fact that about half of them were engaged in just such drudgery.

The results of agricultural child labor were best seen in the draft during the war. There it was found that the young men from the farming districts were inferior physically to those from the city, and Mr. E. C. Lindeman, in a study of rural health, says that boys and girls from the farms do not develop symmetrically; that while their major muscles are developed the finer or accessory muscles are neglected; and that finally farm life in general does not produce a degree of mental alertness and neuro-muscular coördination essential to healthful happy living. The fact is that in addition to the hard work itself there is no real opportunity for play, and play more than work is the best preparation for adult life.

Certain agricultural or semi-agricultural occupations are particularly serious offenders. Cotton picking in the South, where the children are brought into the field at four in the morning and spend the whole day under the hot sun, monotonously stooping over and plucking the cotton from the plant and placing it in the bag, is especially bad. Sometimes from ten to twenty pounds accumulate in the sack before it is emptied. Many northern farmers regularly call on their sons and daughters in their early teens to milk five to ten cows before and after school each day. But the most serious exploitation is in specialized types of agriculture such as tobacco-growing in the Connecticut Valley, where boys and girls work from nine to ten hours a day binding tobacco stems; or in the beet fields of Colorado and Michigan, where thousands of children, some as young as six, thin, weed, pull, top, pile and cover beets, crawling "jes' like a dog," to quote one of the crawlers, nine hours or more a day. Berry picking and packing, vegetable and oyster canning, also use little children, even where the laws forbid their employment. When the state inspector arrives they are sent into the bushes. An incidental bad feature of most of this seasonal labor is the housing. Tents or wretched tar-paper shacks are their only homes, and when the little ones are too small to be of any use in the fields or the canneries they do the housekeeping. Otherwise it is not done, as the whole family must work while work is available. Almost every state in the union has some form of this awful exploitation of children, and the defence is that it is wholesome "farm work"; and each state sees the mote that is in its neighbor's eye, but its own beam completely escapes notice. Another defence is that agricultural crops are perishable and hence all hands must be used; but childhood also is perishable.

The Street Trades.—Street work—newspaper selling, messenger

service, shoe shining, etc.—has also until very recently been looked on with a good deal of tolerance. The assumption is that such ambitious young people need encouragement, and we are prone to exaggerate the one ex-newsboy who becomes mayor to the exclusion of interest in the ninety-nine who make very different records. Fuller estimates that there are at present between 200,000 and 300,000 street-traders of various sorts in the United States, and most of this number are engaged in occupations which are either physically or morally hazardous. Long hours, exposure to all sorts of weather, irregular meals, the rush and excitement of the street, all combine to bring about the conditions by which a disproportionate number of these children suffer from heart, lung, stomach, and foot troubles, and through which they furnish a disproportionate share of retarded children in the schools and of juvenile delinquents. Deceit, begging, short-changing, are common initiations into the street-merchant guild, and fighting, gambling, crap-shooting, and even drug vending and using are not at all uncommon. Newsboys are in especial danger, but other groups are not far behind. It is frequently contended that the wages of these young workers are needed to assist their families, but the fact is that in most cases they are not needed, and even when needed are meagre indeed in proportion to the time spent and the risks involved. Society could well afford to devise some other means of assistance.

Abolition vs. Regulation.—Recently a very considerable agitation has been under way to control this abuse of young children, and in some cities a careful licensing system closely tied up with the schools or the juvenile court is in operation. Whether that will be sufficient or not is an open question. Philip Davis, who has spent most of his life working with street-traders, claims that ultimately every American city will entirely abolish street-trading by children. This has been done to a considerable extent in many European cities.

Home-work for Children.—Home-work for little children is all too common. The jewelry industry is a special offender, but toy-making, some sorts of clothing—though less than formerly—paper flowers, button-carding, etc., all call on little hands. The employer actually sends out the work to the mother, but he knows well enough that all the family help. The results are over-work, ill-health, eye-strain, and school retardation for the children and quite frequently health risks for the users of the goods thus manufactured. One observer tells of tenement children working in a filthy home making "sanitary powder puffs," and another of little ones ill in bed with tuberculosis working on rosary beads. In a recent investigation in New York City of several hundred homes where children were employed, only 23 per cent could be termed fairly clean, and in a large proportion

were definitely diseased. The returns which the children receive for long hours bent over toys, buttons, or glass beads, or paper flowers, are meagre in the extreme, and yet the amount of home-work, much of it child work, is increasing. For this type of child labor, dangerous alike to child and consumer, there is nothing to be said, except from the point of view of the employer who secures cheap labor free from all factory regulations. It should be abolished by law, and until it is so abolished humane (and, quite as much, careful) people will so far as possible refrain from using its products.

Standards in Child Labor Legislation.—Child labor has generally been attacked from the point of view of legislation, and on the whole prohibitive legislation may be said to have been of great service. There is no question that the state has a right to prevent exploitation of its children, whatever may be the case with the nation. The trouble with legislation lies in the fact that it is often difficult of enforcement; also it is sometimes difficult to enact. As to the disputed question of state vs. national regulation of child labor, that is for the constitutional lawyers, rather than the sociologists, but there seems to be some reason to doubt whether progress would be faster with national laws. Whether laws be state or national, however, they should be enacted only after careful study of the situation, and then should be drastically enforced. There is still room for improvement in the laws regulating child labor, even in our most advanced states, and in the backward states—especially in regard to agricultural employment—there is scarcely a beginning. As yet the legislative standards for children's work adopted by the Children's Bureau Conference in 1919 are far from universal. No one of them is in force in every state, nor has any state adopted all of them. These standards follow:

Age Minimum.—An age minimum of sixteen for employment in any occupation, except that children between fourteen and sixteen may be employed in agriculture and domestic service during vacation periods until schools are continuous throughout the year.

An age minimum of eighteen for employment in and about mines and quarries.

An age minimum of twenty-one for girls employed as messengers for telegraph and messenger companies.

An age minimum of twenty-one for employment in the special-delivery service of the U. S. Post Office Department.

Prohibition of the employment of minors in dangerous, unhealthy or hazardous occupations or at any work which will retard their proper physical or moral development.

Educational Minimum.—All children between seven and sixteen

years of age shall be required to attend school for at least nine months each year.

Children between sixteen and eighteen years of age who have completed the eighth but not the high-school grade and are legally and regularly employed, shall be required to attend day continuation schools at least eight hours a week.

Children between sixteen and eighteen who have not completed the eighth grade or children who have completed the eighth grade and are not regularly employed, shall attend full-time school. Occupational training especially adapted to their needs shall be provided for those children who are unable because of mental subnormality to profit by ordinary school instruction.

Vacation schools placing special emphasis on healthful play and leisure time activities shall be provided for all children.

Physical Minimum.—A child shall not be allowed to go to work until he has had a physical examination by a public-school physician or other medical officer especially appointed for that purpose by the agency charged with the enforcement of the law, and has been found to be of normal development for his age and also to be physically fit for the work at which he is to be employed.

There shall be annual physical examination of all working children who are under eighteen years of age.

Hours of Employment.—No minor shall be employed more than 8 hours a day or 44 hours a week. The maximum working day for children between sixteen and eighteen shall be shorter than the legal working day for adults.

The hours spent at continuation schools by children under eighteen years of age shall be counted as part of the working day.

Night work for minors shall be prohibited between 6 P. M. and 7 A. M.

Minimum Wage.—Minors at work shall be paid at a rate of wages which for full-time work shall yield not less than the minimum essential for the "necessary cost of proper living." During a period of learning they may be rated as learners and paid accordingly. The length of the learning period shall be fixed on educational principles only.

Placement and Employment Supervision.—There shall be a central agency which shall deal with all juvenile employment problems. Adequate provision shall be made for advising children when they leave school of the employment opportunities open to them, for assisting them in finding suitable work, and for providing for them such supervision as may be needed during the first few years of their employment. All agencies working towards these ends shall be coordinated through the central agency.

Employment Certificates.—Provision shall be made for issuing employment certificates to all children entering employment who are under eighteen years of age.

An employment certificate shall not be issued to the child until the issuing officer has received, approved, and filed the following:

1. Reliable documentary proof of the child's age.
2. Satisfactory evidence that the child has completed the eighth grade.
3. A certificate of physical fitness signed by a public-health physician or school physician. This certificate shall state that the minor has been thoroughly examined by the physician and that he is physically qualified for the employment contemplated.
4. Promise of employment.

The certificate shall be issued to the employer and shall be returned by the employer to the issuing officer when the child leaves his employment.

The school last attended, the compulsory education department, and the continuation schools shall be kept informed by the issuing officers of certificates issued or refused and of unemployed children for whom certificates have been issued.

Minors over eighteen years of age shall be required to present evidence of age before being permitted to work in occupations having an age-limit prohibition.

Record forms shall be standardized and the issuing of employment certificates shall be under State supervision.

Reports shall be made to the factory inspection department of all certificates issued and refused.

Compulsory School Attendance Laws.—Full-time attendance officers adequately proportioned to the school population shall be provided in cities, towns, and counties to enforce the school attendance law.

The enforcement of school attendance laws by city, town, or county school authorities shall be under State supervision.

Factory Inspection and Physical Examination of Employed Minors.—Inspection for the enforcement of all child labor laws, including those regulating the employment of children in mines or quarries, shall be under one and the same department. The number of inspectors shall be sufficient to insure the regular observance of the laws.

Provision should be made for a staff of physicians adequate to examine periodically all employed children under eighteen years of age.

Limits of Legislation.—But prohibitive legislation by itself cannot take care of the whole problem. The chief causes of child labor are poverty and dissatisfaction with school. Some of the necessary ad-

justments for poverty have already been suggested. Anything which reduces poverty will to some extent reduce child labor, both directly through removing its cause, and indirectly through increasing general intelligence and happiness. The entire social program of poor-relief legislation and social service, and health legislation and public hygiene are in themselves preventives.

The School and Child Labor.—In another connection the responsibility of the school system for social maladjustments has been mentioned. Nowhere, however, is it more at fault than in connection with child labor. City schools with their over-crowded rooms, poorly constructed buildings, and politics-ridden administrations, and one-room country schools with untrained teachers and inadequate curricula, are alike responsible. Many a boy or girl leaves school and goes to work because the school fails to interest. More careful attention to health in the school children, a checking up on absence and its causes, a development of the visiting teacher system, much more attention to vocational training and guidance in the lower grades, all will help more than legislation to prevent child labor. A more progressive educational policy, where attention is given to the individual child, where an attempt is made not to teach routine matters in a routine way, but to develop initiative and interest in the children, is essential. That this is not mere theory, the experience of the progressive schools scattered here and there throughout the country proves. Of course, it will mean the segregation of the defective and sub-normal, an early separation of those with differing abilities, and far better material equipment for the school buildings,—and most important of all, a different type of teacher and educational administrator. These are expensive; all the things suggested will cost money; but child labor is expensive in more ways than one. The principal business of the state for its own welfare and preservation is providing for the welfare of its citizens, and a lack here can never be repaired. More and more in the fight against the wrong sort of child work (child labor) the positive side, based on education and equalization of opportunity, will be emphasized, rather than the negative side of prohibitive legislation. The latter is necessary; the former fundamental.

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The survey of thwarted childhood just completed may seem discouraging; but the hopeful aspect is that so many maladjustments can be prevented, and even now with fumbling efforts headway is being made. A recent writer speaks of "the eternal debt of maturity to childhood and youth." All that we have we received from our fathers and mothers and in turn must pass on. The future of the world lies, not on the knees of the gods, but in the hands of its children.

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CHAPTER VII

THE FEEBLE-MINDED: THE LIFE-LONG CHILDREN

It is appropriate to follow a discussion of the problems of childhood with those of the mentally defective, for the mentally defective are both theoretically, from the standpoint of mental tests, and practically, individuals who never completely grow up. Their bodies develop but their minds remain the minds of children. Hence the obligation of society toward them is much as it is toward children, except as it is modified by the fact that their physical development makes it often difficult to recognize them as the children that they are, and also presents other complicating features.

Feeble-mindedness, a Social Condition.—Feeble-mindedness has been defined both as a physical and as a social condition. The present tendency, however, is to make the test of mental defect social. Not all individuals who are socially maladjusted are defectives; but the indications of mental defect are entirely social. The best definition of a feeble-minded person, that of the Royal College of Physicians of London, brings this out very clearly,—it defines a feeble-minded person as "one who is capable of earning a living under favorable circumstances, but is incapable from mental defect existing from birth or from an early age (a) of competing on equal terms with his normal fellows or (b) of managing himself and his affairs with ordinary prudence."

Definition of Mental Defect.—Just what "mental defect" is and what its causes are, nobody knows; or at least those who claim to know do not agree. The recent developments of the art of mental testing in the field of psychiatry offer us the nearest approach to a definition. Tests have been formulated which ascertain the normal mental reactions for each age from one up to fifteen years, and marked retardation for which there is no apparent physical or environmental cause is taken as evidence of mental defect. Sometimes changed environment and much more frequently treatment for physical maladjustments decreases the retardation. Such cases Dr. Burnham has appropriately called "pseudo-feeble-mindedness" and has urged psychiatrists and social workers to be on their guard against classifying this as permanent mental defect. But such cases are relatively rare, and in the majority of instances no amount of effort makes a change sufficient to turn the incapable individual into one "capable of managing his affairs with ordinary prudence."

Classification.—Psychiatrists have divided the mentally defective into three groups:

a. *Idiots,* those who never exceed the mentality possessed by the normal child of *three* years. These are the distinctly low-grade types, and no matter what their age may be are always incapable of caring for themselves in any way; they cannot feed themselves, some cannot walk or sit up, and others scarcely know when they are hungry or cold.

b. *Imbeciles,* embracing the mentally defective who respond to the normal tests for children from three to eight years of age. They can take care of themselves in the ordinary affairs of life, that is, they can feed themselves, and can learn to keep their bodies clean, and with a large amount of direction can even do very simple tasks. They can take part in directed play, and even amuse themselves, but they cannot be trusted in anything that requires the least bit of initiative.

c. *Morons,* whose mentality tests from eight to twelve years. The higher grades can do ordinary work, and except in acute situations or those requiring judgment may pass as normal. Just as children of those years lack balanced judgment and reliable will power, so these unfortunates lack the power to keep out of trouble. They can do ordinary manual work and even some of the simpler forms of clerical work without much difficulty, but beyond that they are helpless.

Social Problems of Idiots and Imbeciles.—Of these three classes the last constitutes the greatest social problem. Idiots are a very great care and expense, either to their families or to the state, but they cannot commit anti-social acts and they are incapable of reproduction. The imbecile, while distinctly more of a problem, especially in early childhood, when he may not be distinguished from children who are retarded from other causes, later is readily recognizable, and can be comfortably provided for in institutions or in his own home, is easily made happy, and has scarcely enough ability to commit crimes or cause any serious difficulty. He is obviously unfit for employment and does not attract members of the opposite sex. He rarely reproduces.

The Moron.—The moron, on the other hand, because he is so nearly normal, constitutes a great social menace. Even our laws in many states make no distinction between him and a normal individual, and so he is constantly exposed to risks which he is unqualified to meet. Without proper safeguards, which society at present does not provide, the moron, male or female, furnishes recruits for the criminal classes—not of the highest grade, it is true, but frequently those who commit the most serious crimes such as brutal murders, incendiarism, rape, and assault. Most serious of all, the moron not only appears normal but he has the ordinary human physique and passions un-

checked by self-control. As a result, if a male, he leaves behind him a large progeny, and if a female, either does the same or becomes promiscuous and diseased, and thus a spreader of moral and physical contagion. No prudential checks operate to keep down the natural birth-rate of the mentally defective.

Feeble-mindedness in Relation to Social Maladjustments.—The problem of the feeble-minded needs little elaboration. For the lower grades it is largely one of care and protection. The higher grade individuals need a different type of care and protection, but the need is infinitely more imperative. The idiot or imbecile needs care mainly for his own physical comfort, but the moron really needs more, for his own happiness and for the protection of society as well. Not that the feeble-minded person is inherently anti-social or, with proper precautions, a menace to society; but he is unable to meet the tests which life presents. In practically all penal institutions where psychological tests have been given, the percentage of defectives ranges from 50 per cent to over 80 per cent, and while that in institutions for dependents is less, it rarely is under 20 per cent. Making all allowances for the fact that the duller criminals are most likely to be caught, the total numbers involved prove that criminality among the mentally defective presents a serious problem. The same situation holds to an equal if not greater degree with alcoholism. Karl Pearson has shown in the Eugenics Laboratory Memoirs that the correlation between extreme alcoholism and mental defect runs as high as .76, and although it is difficult to convince some ardent temperance workers that alcohol is not the cause and the mental defect the result, scientists believe that it is the defective who succumbs to the temptation of alcohol, or at least who becomes the typical drunkard. Not only are our penal and pauper institutions largely populated by defectives, but an unusually high percentage of the individuals who are always in difficulties in the community are from the same group. Studies of families receiving aid from charitable societies, churches, outdoor relief, etc., not only show them to be mainly unskilled and inefficient workers but also to be unskilled and inefficient because mentally defective.

With such studies as those of the Jukes, the Hill Folk, the Kallikak family, it is unnecessary to catalog further the social problems of the defective. Under present social and industrial conditions, the uncared-for defective is an actual or potential burden to society and is almost fated to lead a life both unhappy and anti-social, and to leave behind him descendants who repeat his own unfortunate life cycle.

Number of the Feeble-minded.—The existence of a comparatively large number of mental defectives in the population is recognized by every student; just how large the number is, is still to a considerable ex-

tent a matter of conjecture. All sorts of estimates have been made, ranging from the wildest statements that "there are 45,000,000 people in this country who have no sense" based on unwarranted deductions from the Army Intelligence Tests, to one feeble-minded person to every 295 normal persons. This latter is an estimate made by Charles H. Strong in an investigation of New York State Charities in 1916. Moderate estimates place the number of mental defectives at approximately one to 250 in the total population, that is to say, approximately 2,000,000 for the entire United States. This estimate, based on many careful studies of selected areas, would seem to come nearer the truth than the conclusions from the army data, which make the number much larger. If it errs, however, it is on the side of conservatism; the total number may be much larger. What is needed soon is a thoroughgoing study by the national government to check up on the partial studies and estimates given. The difficulties in the way of such a study are considerable, but at least a complete census of children in school could be taken.

Causes of Mental Defect.—In discussing the causes underlying defective mentality the layman is handicapped because specialists disagree. Many of the most eminent authorities have been maintaining that the most important cause is heredity; that is, that mental defect is a heritable characteristic, and they have adduced considerable evidence to show that it is a unit character inherited according to the Mendelian ratio. There have always been dissenters among the psychiatrists who have maintained that feeble-mindedness is a complex social characteristic rather than a unit physical or psychic characteristic, and that consequently it could not come under the Mendelian law. That feeble-mindedness is a social rather than a medical term is evident. It connotes lack of adjustment to surroundings. It was early pointed out by Sequin that a patient of his who was normal in the country would be defective in Paris, and many a defective lives a happy and contented life with no indication of difficulty so long as his environment is comparatively simple and he is faced with no crisis. Recent studies, such as *The Jukes in 1915,* have demonstrated that even this apparently hopeless group showed improvements when their environment was changed. Hence the doubts as to the hereditary nature of the difficulty. Even those who believe that there is a fair case for considering defective mentality a definitely physical or psychic trait are not agreed in believing that its causes are inherent in the germ cell. It has always been admitted even by the most ardent hereditarians that a considerable percentage of feeble-mindedness was due to disease or accident in childhood, which affected the development of the brain cells. It is now claimed by some students of the subject that over one-half

of all cases of mental deficiency are non-hereditary in type (Fernald) and that the proportion is larger among high-grade morons and border-line defectives.[1]

With experts disagreeing, it is difficult to come to any satisfactory conclusions. It appears, however, that a close correlation exists between mentally defective parents and defective offspring. It may be that there is no typical class of mental defectives, that they differ among themselves, and that some types are unit characters and hereditary and others are not. But with our present information it would seem that society cannot do other than assume that the hereditary factor is of the utmost importance, and do everything possible to discourage the propagation of the unfit. Even if it were later shown that the defect was not hereditary, but was due to early environment, such a step would still be justified, for it can be contended by no one that defective parents provide satisfactory home conditions.

Treatment of the Feeble-minded.—The first adjustment which must be made to this problem is the recognition of its existence. Insanity, another mental difficulty, is almost universally recognized; its existence constitutes legal ground for holding an individual not guilty of crime. In many states this is not true of the feeble-minded, especially of morons. Our courts, schools, social workers, employers, and the government itself must come to realize that approximately two per cent of the population are mentally defective.

A recognition of the existence of the general problem will naturally lead to an attempt to identify the afflicted, which should be the normal second step in coping with the situation. This can best be done through the schools, and psychopathic laboratories attached to schools, social agencies, and employment departments of large corporations would be of great importance.

It will take time to secure a general census such as that indicated above, and even more time to get the public enough interested to finance it. Meanwhile our criminal courts, relief agencies, and particularly our schools are constantly dealing with the maladjusted mental defectives; the question presents itself how they should be treated.

Early Treatment of the Defective.—Feeble-mindedness is not a new situation. The "fool" has been recognized since the earliest times and in recent years at any rate some obligation has been felt for his care. In the earlier days he was looked on as "God's fool" and was allowed certain privileges and prerogatives which the simpler social life of those times made possible. It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that the problem was attacked from an educational or medical point of view. Investigations carried on by

[1] Davies, S. P., *Social Control of the Feeble-Minded,* New York, 1923, p. 79.

the French psychologist Seguin made him hopeful of curing mental defect through education, and for over forty years he conducted experiments both in Europe and America with the idea of educating the defective. As a matter of fact certain very definite steps in advance were made; that is, the feeble-minded who received education along Seguin's lines were happier and somewhat more agreeable than uncared-for imbeciles. In general the educational methods worked out by Seguin have remained as the basis of training in the better institutions for the feeble-minded.

Necessity for Permanent Care.—Although these institutions took only the more hopeful cases, before long they came to realize that no single case of mental deficiency had been cured. It became evident that custodial care rather than education was fundamental, and our present system of institutions for the feeble-minded is essentially custodial. The educational element is not neglected, but few now suppose that after a period of care in an institution the mentally defective can return to the community fitted to live as a normal individual.

This has made the problem much more difficult of solution, especially as the recent developments in mental testing have shown the large number of defectives. The increased emphasis on the number of the feeble-minded has led to a very considerable increase in the number of institutions with constantly swelling waiting lists. Earlier, when it was thought that special training was all that was necessary, this was not so serious, but now when for many care for life is indicated, the supply of institutional accommodation never meets the demand, and unless the public is prepared to provide out of taxation a very much larger number of institutions it never can meet it.

Sterilization.—What then are the other alternatives to complete institutionalization? One alternative frequently suggested and indeed incorporated into legislation in several states is *sterilization.* From many points of view this has much to recommend it. If all the mentally defective were known through a complete census, and all were made sterile, the problem would be largely solved in one or two generations.

But to this plan there are several objections. In the first place, we are not absolutely sure that feeble-mindedness is hereditary. If it is not, sterilization would not be as effective as assumed by its protagonists, though it would prevent children coming into homes whose early environment would tend toward mental defect. At any rate, if properly administered, it ought to serve a eugenic purpose. The principal reason why sterilization has not been effective, even where it has been written into law, is that public sentiment, particularly that of religious bodies, is opposed to it. Indeed in some cases it has been claimed to be unconstitutional as a "cruel and unusual punish-

ment." The difficulty, however, is not with sterilization, but with its administration, and with public opinion and public ignorance. It is not yet realized that sterilization is possible with both sexes by a relatively minor operation which in no way interferes with the individual's happiness. Nor does the public realize the extent of the burden which the propagation of the unfit entails. Another difficulty with sterilization is the mode of decision as to the individuals to be operated upon. This, naturally, is a delicate matter and should be made only by a committee of experts after careful study of the individual and a knowledge of his social and family history. With proper safeguards there is no reason to object to sterilization other than a purely sentimental one.

Partial Segregation.—The second alternative method is partial segregation, limited to females of child-bearing age. They are indicated because they are the most in need of protection. This has not, in general, been the policy in caring for defectives, children usually receiving first consideration, with the idea that they can be educated. Partial segregation obviously cannot accomplish complete success.

Placing-out.—Recently through the efforts of Dr. Bernstein at Rome, New York, and the late Dr. Fernald at Waverley, Massachusetts, the placing-out system has been adopted with the feeble-minded with marked success. The theory back of this practice is that many of the high-grade defectives are competent workers and under supervision can furnish a needed labor supply to the community, thus saving the state the expense of their care and providing the defectives themselves with a more normal form of existence. This plan was first tried in farm colonies with adult male defectives. At Rome it was extended to younger boys and women, at first on farms purchased or rented by the institution, and recently colonies have been established in industrial communities for both men and women. The defectives live in these colonies much as single workers live in boarding-homes, except that the supervision must be of a high grade and the control strict. They are employed in the various industries in the community, and the testimony of their employers is that they make first-class workers in the lower grades of mechanical labor. They are thus enabled to live nearly normal lives, under conditions which are adjusted to their needs and which protect them against exploitation, with a minimum of expense to the state. Other workers are placed out on farms as farm-hands or domestic servants. There has to be great care in the placement, even more than in the placement of children, and a considerable amount of supervision is required, but in the main the experiment has been successful. It would seem as though an extension of the Rome system of colonies, boarding-homes, and placement might point the way toward the care of

the defectives at a minimum of expense and with satisfactory protection. If sterilization were combined with this in particular cases, we would be in a fair way to cope with the problem.

Special Classes.—A word of caution is necessary in regard to one of the commonest adjustments for the mentally defective,—the special class in the public school. While anything is better than keeping defectives in classes with normal children, it should be recognized that for the definitely defective the special class is a failure. If it is the only alternative to running in the streets, it is excusable; but it raises false hopes of improvement, and does not give the needed protection. Seguin and his successors years ago found that formal education could not be imparted to the defective. In the ordinary retarded class the mentally defective is grouped with the children of the immigrant, children who have been kept behind owing to illness or absence, and other types. The difficulty of dealing with these children, who presumably have normal minds, is intensified if children with sub-normal minds are introduced.

The General Problem and its Solution.—It may seem paradoxical, but from some points of view, the problem of feeble-mindedness is hopeful. Science already can make a fair approximation as to the number of the mentally defective and it knows how to find out exactly. Moreover, the public is being aroused. Methods of care have been tested, and the conclusion has been reached that since the defective are permanently children, they must be permanently cared for; but it has been discovered that under the right sort of supervision many of them can live in the community and be self-supporting. While there is still great uncertainty as to the hereditary nature of mental defect, much experimentation is going on in this field, and there is every reason to suppose that definite proof will soon be available. Meanwhile, society knows enough to demand that every effort be made to prevent the propagation of the feeble-minded. It is now generally recognized that society must assume complete responsibility for guardianship of the mentally defective. In the long run, the expense will be as nothing compared to the gain, both to the defective and to society.

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CHAPTER VIII

OLD AGE

Old age and childhood have this at least in common: both are normal conditions through which everyone who lives long enough must pass. There is no reason why either period should ordinarily present a social problem. It has been shown that under unfortunate social conditions, however, childhood, proverbially the time of happiness, often becomes a period of suffering and hardship. This is even more true of old age, especially under modern conditions. Dependence, illness, lack of care and consideration, all create what may well be called thwarted old age—an old age devoid of comfort, affection, and respect, and filled with suffering and fear.

Increase of the Aged.—Unlike most social problems, that of old age, instead of decreasing because of gradual improvements in social and economic conditions, is apparently on the increase. Modern hygiene, the movements for the prevention of accidents in industry, and many other factors of which society is justly proud, have within the last quarter century very greatly increased the expectation of life. As a result the number of aged persons in the population has been constantly increasing. This is best shown in the following table compiled from the U. S. Census returns:

Percentage of Total Population over 65

Year	Percent
1880	3.5
1890	3.9
1900	4.2
1910	4.3
1920	4.7

While the percentages may seem small the total numbers are staggering. In 1920 there were in the United States 4,933,215 individuals 65 or over. This outnumbers our entire population at the time when the Union was formed, and only the four states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio have a greater total population today.

Normal Adjustments to Old Age.—The significance of these statistics in terms of human problems is difficult to understand unless one has had contact with large numbers of old men and women. In the first place, there is the normal psychological and sociological ad-

justment to the physical and mental conditions of old age, which is rarely made with entire ease. This adjustment is common to all old people of either sex, entirely independent of their condition of health or their economic situation. This process of adjustment is best portrayed by Stanley Hall in *Senescence,* and involves a corresponding change of attitude on the part of the business, professional or social group to which the aging person belongs. With moderately good health and adequate means, the increased attention to physical comforts and the intellectual adjustments that depend upon the other members of the group are generally accomplished without too great difficulty, but there is always a psychological danger. The struggle for domination between the older member of the family or business firm, in whom lust for power does not decrease with advancing age, which has furnished the motif of many literary productions, is by no means absent in real life, and an understanding of the complexities of the situation is essential to any one who would deal intelligently with the aged, whatever their condition in life may be. All too often the young people are impatient to assume power themselves, and under-estimate the genuine value of the older person's experience; especially is this true at present.

The Aged in the Old and the New World.—The break-up of the old-world systems in which the position of the elders was revered and respected has helped to create a special problem for the aged in modern society. In the Ancient World and in primitive society the old men and women were the sole custodians of the lore of the group,—religious, social, and technical alike,—and consequently their position was assured, even though they might be feeble. With the invention of writing and the gradual spread of the book, the position of the "old men" in this regard has steadily lost its importance, although it is not entirely gone. Thus, recent intellectual and scientific developments have combined to create in the aged a sense of frustration. In Western society at least, each generation depends less on its elders, and as a consequence the elders themselves, who recall, perhaps with compound interest, the more reverential attitude which they assumed toward their own forbears, find their position increasingly difficult. This is particularly true where relatively primitive and patriarchal groups, such as still exist in parts of eastern Europe, have been uprooted through migration and transplanted to a modernized society like that of America. The conflict then is apt to be particularly severe, and although its manifestations may center around religious or social mores, the struggle for dominance on the part of the aged is frequently at its root.

Ill Health and Old Age.—This difficult situation, inevitable as it is, is by no means the most serious problem which the aged man or

woman has to face. Practically all old people suffer from a degree of ill health, and for the major part of those in America, and indeed in the Western World generally, the situation is made infinitely more painful through economic dependence. Illness is the one great factor which is common among all classes of dependents, but among the aged it is almost universal. A recent Ohio study concludes:

"Illnesses were more important than any other cause in bringing about premature superannuation and frequently required the expenditure of all previous savings." [1]

The Pennsylvania Commission on old age pensions made a similar report; indeed every study made of the aged has emphasized the importance of this factor of failing health. This is quite as important indirectly as it is directly, because it tends to consume the savings of the old people, and to make them unemployable. Any adjustment made for the better care of the aged must consider their physical condition. They are frequently in pain, and when not in pain are enfeebled to an extent which makes much physical effort a burden. All too often those in whose care the old people find themselves, whether in a family home or in an institution, do not realize the extent to which physical infirmity affects the welfare of their charges. Failing eyesight and hearing, muscular and rheumatic stiffness, enfeebled heart action with rising blood-pressure and hardening of the arteries, as well as more obscure and less obvious ailments of the genito-urinary and digestive systems are, unfortunately, the common lot of the aged, and any arrangements for their care should be made with their peculiar liability to these diseases in mind. With the old as with the very young, trained medical and nursing care is essential. Too frequently their complaints are looked on as simply "crankiness" and crotchets, when really they are caused by actual suffering—a form of suffering, too, which good nursing care could often alleviate.

Mental Troubles.—The physical suffering and bodily infirmity is often, although by no means always, allied with mental difficulties. Even with the perfectly normal individual—if there is such a person—the conflicts which old age brings are bound to be disturbing. When, however, those conflicts are combined with organic disease and a generally weakened condition, the result is that more often than not mental troubles accompany the physical. This is particularly the case where economic worries and family difficulties are added. Senile dementia, of course, is the extreme form of physical and mental breakdown, but many aged people—by no means demented—are afflicted with queer mental twists, which not only make

[1] Ohio Report on Old Age Pensions, p. 223.

them difficult for others but which also make life distressing to themselves. In the care of older people psychiatric diagnosis and treatment is of the utmost importance. Many "queernesses" which are the bane of existence of fond sons and daughters, and which complicate matters for the matrons of old ladies' homes, could be ironed out if proper medical and mental care were obtained. The fact that such mental weakness is of the most common occurrence, and that an adequate understanding of its causes and care could do much to alleviate it, points toward the staffing of our institutions for the aged with attendants of a higher intellectual calibre than those generally used. Not only would this be more satisfactory for the inmates themselves, but it would prevent the multiplicities of minor frictions which arise when the attendants fail in understanding. In the case of the aged, even more than in many other aspects of social life, to know all would be to understand all,—and to understand would be to sympathize, not sentimentally but intelligently.

Industry and Old Age Dependence.—The most pressing of all the problems, however, which old age faces is the economic one. That this is partially because of physical disability is obvious, but the peculiar gravity of the situation at present is due primarily to the modern industrial system. Under the domestic economy prior to the Industrial Revolution, the old man and the old woman were not only of value as a repository of traditional lore, but under the more leisurely handicraft methods in industry and in the varigated processes of agriculture could contribute at least enough to pay for the chimney corner which they occupied. Then, too, the relative expense of keeping an additional person was far less than it is today because of the lack of crowding and the consequent lower value of space. To an extent, at least, this situation still exists in agricultural and rural communities, although even in agriculture, with the introduction of complicated machinery, the contribution of the aged laborer is far less than was the case years ago. Nevertheless, absolute space is less valuable, and since in general the agricultural community is still largely self-supporting the extra "mouth to feed" is not so much of a burden.

Difference between Dependence of Aged Men and Aged Women.—One great reason for the otherwise inexplicable difference in numbers between male and female aged dependents lies just here. Even in our highly organized modern communities the home, where women's chief work is done, is still administered in the relatively simple manner of our forefathers. Some changes have been made; nevertheless, housewives of several hundred years ago would be far more at home in a modern apartment than their husbands would be in a modern

factory. Consequently the aged woman is far more frequently able to be of very real service in the home than is the aged man in industry. Looking after children, washing dishes, simple cooking, the every-day activities in the home, are not generally regulated by relentless mechanical devices—these chores can be arranged to suit the feeble health and halting steps of the aging woman. The best indication that this is no mere theorizing is found in the following table, taken from the Bulletin *Paupers in Almshouses, 1923,* published by the Bureau of the Census:

UNITED STATES SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PAUPERS IN ALMSHOUSES 1880–1923

		Enumerated on a given date			Admitted during the year		
Year	Date	Males	Females	Males per 100 Females	Males	Females	Males per 100 Females
1923	Jan. 1	53,967	24,123	223.7	46,670	17,137	272.3
1910	Jan. 1	57,049	27,149	210.1	67,195	21,118	313.2
1904	Jan. 1	52,444	29,320	178.9	59,373	22,039	269.4
1890	Jan. 1	40,740	32,304	126.1	.....		
1880	Jan. 1	35,364	30,639	116.1	.....		

Naturally these are the dependents who have reached the lowest levels, and some of them are not aged, but the significance of the figures is unmistakable. The bulk of them, as other figures indicate, are over 60. With growing industrialization and urbanization of the American population the old man finds it vastly more difficult to remain even semi-independent than does the old woman. That this is not caused by a great excess of old men is shown by a similar study made by the Census Bureau indicating that, taking all ages into account, the almshouse population in January 1, 1923, shows 100.1 males per each 100,000 males in the total population, and only 46.6 females per 100,000. A significant fact about this study is that the percentage of the almshouse population in the lower age levels is approximately the same for both sexes, but that the increased number of males shows itself particularly among the aged.

Unemployment and the Aged.—The difference in the incidence with which dependency bears on the two sexes is perhaps an aside from the main argument, but it illustrates the growing dependence of the aged worker, due to changes in industry. Other statistical studies show very clearly the decrease in the number of employed old men. This is most strikingly illustrated by the United States Census returns of males engaged in gainful occupation. These returns are given in age groups with the following significant results:

PERCENTAGE OF MALES OVER 65 GAINFULLY EMPLOYED

Census of 1890	73.8	——
Census of 1900	68.4	5.4% decrease
Census of 1910	63	5. decrease
Census of 1920	60.1	2.9 decrease

From 1890 to 1920, a period of thirty years, the decrease in males of sixty-five and over gainfully employed reaches 13.7 per cent of the total number of such men. That this decrease is largely due to the growing importance of industry and the mechanical pursuits, is shown by the fact that in agriculture and the professions the older men more than hold their own in proportion to younger men. The various studies made by Old Age Pension Commissions in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Massachusetts all bring out the one fact that in both the unskilled and the skilled trades the number of older men is constantly declining, and among the older men still employed the amount of disability due to illness and irregular employment is far greater than among the younger men. Another pathetic fact is that in the skilled trades the older men are gradually displaced, and if they keep on working are forced down among the unskilled. Even in occupations such as printing and the building trades, where by common report the opportunity for older workers is greater than in others, the Pennsylvania Commission showed a very small proportion of employees sixty or over.

To quote Epstein:

> It (modern industry) replaces and discards aged wage-earners as it is in the habit of replacing and discarding the worn-out and inefficient machinery. Once economic old age has set in the road to dependence is short. Says L. W. Squier, "After the age of sixty has been reached, the transition from non-dependence is an easy stage—property gone, friends passed away or removed, relatives become few, ambition collapsed, only a few short years left to live, with death a final and welcome end to it all—such conclusions inevitably sweep the wage-earners from the class of hopeful independent citizens into that of the helpless poor." [2]

Statistics are only mathematical approximations to a situation brimful of tragedy. The social worker who knows the victims of our economic system who are obliged, often reluctantly, to apply for one form or another of assistance, gives more gripping testimony. Mrs. Solenberger found that of the One Thousand Homeless Men with whom she came in contact in Chicago, 132 were over sixty, and of these she says:

[2] Epstein, H., *Facing Old Age*, N. Y., 1922, pp. 20–21.

No class of our applicants . . . seemed to be more uniformly hopeless and unhappy than the men who had passed sixty, and who realized that the doors of industrial opportunity were being closed against them and that it was only a short time before they must become wholly dependent upon charity. . . . If chance throws them out of employment, men who have passed sixty must almost invariably resort to casual labor. It is almost equally difficult for men in their fifties to find well-paid employment. . . .[3]

The statements made by these aging men regarding their own position are full of pathos.

"The first time they apply they assure us it will be 'only a temporary matter' They are certain that they will soon find work and be able to repay all that may be advanced."[4]

They feel the injustice of their position bitterly. Mrs. Solenberger quotes three characteristic statements:

"I am as well able to work as I ever was. Better, too, because I am so much more experienced than a young fellow."

"Experience ought to count for something. I know there is a place for me somewhere if I can only find it."

"It cannot be possible that I am never going to have steady work again. I am not old enough to be thrown out yet. I'll get located soon, but I'll have to ask a little temporary aid."[5]

Nationality of Aged Dependents:—In considering the socially maladjusted in the nation we are accustomed to soothe ourselves with the comforting reflection that they are probably recent immigrants from foreign countries, and perhaps after all are better off here, even in their suffering, than they would have been had they stayed at home. In the case of the aged this is doubly untrue. In the first place, the majority of the aged poor are American-born; 68 out of Mrs. Solenberger's 132, for example, and 82 per cent of them were English-speaking.[6] The aged constitute the vast majority of the paupers in our almshouses and of the 78,090 enumerated January 1, 1923, 53,624 or 68.6 per cent were native-born and of the 23,557 foreign-born 10,374 more were English-speaking. Of the non-English speaking countries, Germany and Sweden are in the lead in the total number in our poorhouse inmates.[7] In the second place, if these aged foreign-born poor had stayed in their own countries, many of them would be

[3] Solenberger, A. W. *One Thousand Homeless Men,* New York, 1914, p. 112.
[4] Ibid., p. 113.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., p. 114–115.
[7] *Paupers in Almshouses,* 1923, pp. 45.

receiving old-age pensions; the United States is one of the most backward of all nations in this respect.

Economic Classification of the Aged.—Epstein divides the aged into three main classes from the economic point of view. First are the relatively few wealthy or at least independent persons. From the point of view of economic dependency these present no problem, although they may and do often present physical and mental problems which create maladjustments. Second, there is

> the great mass of the aged wage-earners who are presumably non-dependent because in order to avoid the stigma of pauperism, they do not as a rule seek aid from charitable and philanthropic sources. These will prefer to make all sorts of sacrifices rather than seek asylum for their last days in either county poorhouse or benevolent home. Many of this group . . . may nevertheless be below the poverty-line. . . . From any point of view this group, which represents the vast majority of wage-earners, has the greatest claim to protection and relief in old age.[8]

The third group, smaller than the second but of considerable significance, consists of those who are obliged to accept public or private charitable relief, either in institutions or in their own homes.

The number in the second group is very difficult to ascertain. The Pennsylvania Commission estimated in 1919 that—

> "Aside from the aged dependents found in almshouses, benevolent or fraternal homes, and those receiving public or private relief, there is a considerable proportion (43%) of the aged population of this state, 50 years of age and over, who, when reaching old age have no other means of support, except their own earnings." [9]

Other studies would indicate that this estimate rather exaggerates the proportion of the aged who have no resources such as savings or pensions; the Ohio Commission, which reported the same year, estimates that in Hamilton and Cincinnati, the cities studied, the number of persons over fifty years of age dependent on relatives or friends is from 15 to 25 per cent.[10] Of course many of the aged who are not technically dependent are still living below the poverty-line. In the words of the Wisconsin investigators:

> Thousands of old people contrive to escape the clutches of the poor laws who nevertheless endure a pitiful struggle for existence. They work beyond their strength, they deny themselves proper food and clothing, they are

[8] Epstein, op. cit., p. 22.

[9] Report of the Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age Pensions, 1919, p. 11.

[10] Report of the Ohio Commission on Old Age Pensions and Health Insurance, 1919, p. 11.

aided by friends and neighbors, or they are supported by their children, too often at the expense of growing families.[11]

These thousands who were either independent, or whose dependence was so tenuous that it could not be traced, would undoubtedly raise the Ohio estimate nearer to the Pennsylvania figure, although even with all due allowances that seems high.

Epstein estimates on the basis of the Pennsylvania figures that there were in this country approximately 1,700,000 persons of fifty or over who were without any means of support other than their own earnings. Our previous consideration of the place of the aged in modern industry shows how precarious a resource "earnings" are for one who has passed the half-century mark. Even cutting this number down to a million and a half makes a very considerable burden, both of suffering for the individuals and of ultimate dependence for the community; for unless death mercifully intervenes the majority will ultimately "become dependent, if not upon public charity, then upon children or relatives at the expense of self-respect, and in many cases also to the great detriment of the growing generation." [12] That these figures are not so far wrong is shown by the fact that Squier's estimate, based on the conservatively gathered Massachusetts figures of 1912, placed 1,250,000 of those over 65 in the United States as dependent on public or private charity. That a situation should exist in the wealthiest country in the world by which a million and a half worn-out workers face daily and hourly the imminent dread of want, with no means of protection except care at the hands of children and relatives, in many cases already over-burdened, or the cold comfort of the poorhouse, does not speak well for our industrial or social order, nor is it creditable to the far-famed generosity of the American nation.

Care of the Aged

The extent and the causes of the social problems centering around old age have just been considered. Even more important for the present purpose is a consideration of the various adjustments by which society can meet this very evident need.

The Care of the Aged in Primitive Society.—Even among the most primitive peoples it early became recognized that when the old warrior had lost his cunning with the bow and when his eyes were dimmed and his muscles wearied with the chase, some sort of adjustment must be made. Sumner points out that in general there are two sets of mores for the aged in primitive society; in one—

[11] Wisconsin Report on Old Age Relief, 1915, p. 12.
[12] Epstein, op. cit., p. 27.

the teachings and usage inculcate conventional respect for the aged, who are therefore arbitrarily preserved for their wisdom and counsel, perhaps also sometimes out of affection and sympathy,

and in the other

the aged are regarded as societal burdens. . . . Therefore, they are forced to die, either by their own hands or those of their relatives.[13]

These two attitudes are frequently in conflict; the outcome depends on whether the value derived from "the wisdom and counsel" appears to outweigh the economic burden. With nomadic peoples where there is not only a shortage of food but exhausting marches across deserts and conflicts with foes, the second attitude tends to dominate. This situation is so clearly recognized that the aged themselves acquiesce in it; the instinct of self-preservation is apparently subordinated to that of group preservation. Sumner in the same connection relates the incident of an old Pinca Indian chief who had been left by his tribe with a little food and water and only a few sticks of fire-wood. The tribe itself had had to make a forced migration because of hunger. The chief's farewell address is quoted as follows:

"My children, our nation is poor, and it is necessary that you should all go to the country where you can get meat. My eyes are dimmed and my strength is no more. . . . I am a burden to my children. I cannot go. Keep your hearts stout and think not of me. I am no longer good for anything."

In other cases the old themselves beg for death rather than endure the sufferings of age, and primitive society, kinder in this regard than some more civilized groups, sanctions their release.

The Almshouse.—The almshouse, called by a recent writer "the final apotheosis of friendlessness" is the chief solution of the problem of old age offered by the United States of America. On January 1, 1923, there were 42,150 men and women 65 years old and over in the almshouses of this country. When it is remembered that this is the last resort, that one might well inscribe on the portals of the almshouse "All who enter here have abandoned hope," the number is significant.

Proportion of Aged in the Almshouse.—Since so large a proportion of the inhabitants of almshouses are old men and women—in January 1923, 54 per cent for the entire United States were 65 or over—it may be regarded as primarily for the aged. In the states with unsocialized poor relief, the almshouse is still as Kelso describes it in the early decades of last century in Massachusetts: a gathering together

[13] Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, Boston, 1906, p. 321.

"under a single roof of all manner of persons of what condition whatsoever who were either unable or unwilling to do for themselves." [14]

Where such conditions exist, as they do in a considerable portion of the union, the percentage of the aged is relatively low because the total almshouse population is very large. In the states with a modern social policy and consequently far fewer people in the almshouses, the percentage of the aged is far higher. The following table speaks for itself:

PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS IN STATE PAUPER INSTITUTIONS WHO ARE 65 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER.[15]

Massachusetts	92%
Wisconsin	87%
Pennsylvania	62%
Ohio	60%

All of these figures are considerably above that for the country as a whole, and that for Massachusetts, which in many respects has the best organized care for its poor, makes it evident that its almshouses are chiefly refuges for the aged with merely a fringe of other dependents. Unquestionably the tendency to remove the other classes from the almshouse is increasing.

The Almshouse—A Poor Remedy.—What, then, is to be said of the almshouse as a remedy for the social maladjustment which causes so many aged men and women to be both sick and poor? In the first place, the almshouse is, as Homer Folks points out, a departure from "the normal and usual ways of living" and, as such, is contrary to one of the few established principles of social work, viz., that there should be as little departure from the normal as possible.[16] Grouping large numbers of people, regardless of age, health, education, and of previous family ties in barracks, and setting them apart from the rest of society, is fundamentally wrong, and would be wrong in the majority of cases even if our almshouses were not, many of them, so poorly administered as to merit condemnation.

Generally the criticisms made of almshouses apply with almost equal force to "Homes for the Aged," although in many cases they are excellently administered, with every effort to provide adequate physical comfort for the inmates. Folks in the article above referred to points out that it has taken us several decades to recognize that the place for needy children is in their own homes, not in institutions, and he shows convincingly that the same principle holds good for the aged—at least to the extent of the adoption of the same

[14] Kelso, op. cit., p. 113.
[15] Epstein, op. cit., p. 30.
[16] Folks, H., *Home Life for the Aged,* Survey, LIII, No. 2, p. 71.

general principle, that neither the aged nor children should be removed from their homes *for poverty alone*. The aged might be placed in an institution, almshouse or other, if the home were unsuitable or non-existent, or if because of illness they could not be adequately cared for in the ordinary home; but, especially in the latter case, neither the ordinary almshouse nor even the average "Old People's Home" is the proper place. Rather, a specialized type of hospital or infirmary is necessary.

The almshouse, then, stands condemned along with all other institutional care for the aged for the following reasons: (1) because it is contrary to the desires of the aged themselves, (2) because contrary to all the developments of modern psychology and of humanitarianism, it substitutes coercion for persuasion and abrupt change for gradual change, and (3) because it tends to kill personality, the fine flower of civilization, which in the case of the old it has taken a lifetime to develop. Old people themselves, according to Folks, have four main wants:

1st—not to be set apart as aged;

2nd—to be let alone to manage their own affairs;

3rd—to stay where they have been living;

4th—to continue occupying themselves with the kind of work they have been doing, so far as their health will allow.

Institutional care of the aged denies all these wants, and in place of a continuance of "established habits, occupations, and adjustments, which in the great majority of cases mean better health and a comfortable and agreeable old age,"—superimposes an entire change and a more or less iron-clad regime. Lady Gregory has accurately and vividly described the attitude in "The Workhouse Ward" and another Irish poet, Padraic Colum, has expressed the longing for a home in "An Old Woman of the Roads" even more forcefully:

> Oh to have a little house!
> To own the hearth and stool and all!
> The heaped up sods upon the fire,
> The pile of turf against the wall!
>
> . . . . .
>
> I could be busy all the day
> Clearing and sweeping hearth and floor,
> And fixing on their shelf again
> My white and blue and speckled store!
>
> . . . . .
>
> And I am praying to God on high,
> And I am praying Him night and day,
> For a little house—a house of my own—
> Out of the wind's and the rain's way."

That this is the attitude not only of the homeless wanderer, but of the thousands who perforce must accept the cold charity of the Home for the Aged, or the even more parsimonious kindness of the almshouse, no one who has ever visited either will doubt.

Loss of Status.—But the almshouse has other objectionable features equally effective in unfitting it to play a part in the adjustment of the aged to their environment. It is not respectable. To enter the almshouse is to lose caste irrevocably and immediately with all but the very lowest. The almshouse and the prison were one in origin, and the taint of the prison has by no means left the sister institution. Status is one of the most precious possessions of rich and poor alike; it is bound up inextricably with personality, and once lost all else goes with it. Admission to the poorhouse is a confession of social bankruptcy which is not only evident to the community, but which in most cases takes away the last shred of self-respect of the individual. Hence it is that old men and women will starve and pinch, live in unheated garrets or untended hovels, and in many cases commit suicide rather than apply for admission to the poorhouse.

Loss of Freedom.—Closely allied to this attitude is the feeling that entrance takes away the individual's freedom. One can no longer do as he chooses. His meal hours are regulated, not by his own taste, but by institutional regime; he must go to bed at certain hours and get up at others; some of his pet habits are forbidden and his pet aversions, cultivated through long years, are unrecognized. With the young this training in coöperation and obedience has its good points, but folk-wisdom has asserted that it is hard to teach an old dog new tricks, and one of the constant complaints of the almshouse attendant is that the old dog refuses to learn. Privacy, too, as well as independence, is lost. The pressure for space is great, especially in the winter months, the public provision for buildings and equipment is niggardly, and old men and women are frequently packed closely in barrack-like rooms. There is little or no opportunity for them to keep their few private possessions—valueless, it may be, to the outsider, but precious to them because of association. Close contact with many individuals seems to be trying to the human spirit at any time, but never does close contact breed such difficulty as in the declining years.

Lack of Segregation.—The indiscriminate nature of the almshouse population is another disadvantage. Selection can be made in the larger communities, and in some states and in some cities it is made, but by and large the almshouse inmates are of all ages, sexes, and conditions of health and morals. This makes administration difficult, and the proper care of each class next to impossible. Where any progress has been made in administration it has begun by a segrega-

tion of the various types, the old from the young, the men from the women, the sick from the well. With such a basis of classification, a physical plant can be constructed which more nearly meets the needs of each class, and the supervisory care can be made discriminating. To do this, a governmental unit large in population and in financial resources is necessary. Consequently state almshouses, and institutions which receive the poor of large cities, have made the most advances, and the rural town-farms or county poorhouses the least. A thorough-going study of the almshouses of each state, with a state-wide policy of almshouse care, is essential. Although such a program would be costly in the beginning, it would in the long run be economical, and would certainly provide far more effective treatment for the aged and sick poor who, when everything else has been done, will still need to remain in an institution.

Politics and the Almshouse.—One difficulty with such a program lies in the fact that the administration of poor relief is in most communities a distinctly political function, and the office of administrator one of the minor spoils of party dominance. A fair illustration of the political handicaps under which almshouse administration, as well as almshouse inmates, suffer is that of the state of Missouri —a typical state in that it has both large cities and rural areas, and some of the best as well as some of the worst almshouses in the country,—where a few years ago the secretary of the State Board of Charities reported that the average length of service for almshouse superintendents was three and one-half years, and that eighty-one of the ninety-eight superintendents reporting had served less than two years.[17]

In commenting on this situation Mr. Auerbach says:

> "Under the political system even if a man who is conscientious is appointed, he is sorely handicapped. He may study almshouse management . . . but before he is able to put his reforms into effect a new election takes place and he is succeeded by a new appointee who, knowing nothing of the almshouse, must begin all over again only in time to be succeeded by another."

Such a situation is not peculiar to Missouri; it exists in practically every state in the union. Only in a few of the largest cities and in some of the most progressive states are the superintendents and their associates placed under the classified civil service, chosen because of experience and training, and dismissed only for just cause. In many of the states, the local overseer or superintendent of the poor must stand an annual election, and thus the real test of efficiency is the control of a block of votes, not service rendered. This may be de-

[17] Auerbach, M. A., *Almshouses; Existing Conditions and Needed Reforms,* Proceedings of the National Conference on Charities and Corrections, 1914.

mocracy, but it is neither humane nor scientific. Absolutely essential, if the almshouse is to render even fair service, is its complete removal from political influence.

Building and Food.—The ordinary country poorhouse is generally a large ramshackle building, with ancient plumbing, or sometimes none at all, and its city counterpart a barrack-like structure. Neither adequately meets the need of the aged.

The studies made of rations by the Pennsylvania Commission brings out the fact that

"The inmates are given coarse and unpalatable food, although the overseers themselves manage to fare somewhat better." . . .

In one county almshouse the disparity was striking. In four standard articles of food the amounts provided annually per inmate and per steward were:

Articles of Food	*Per Inmate*	*Per Steward*
Butter	7½ lbs.	30 lbs.
Eggs	38	200 lbs.
Chicken	1 ounce	10 lbs.
Milk	23 quarts	101 quarts

This may have been a particularly flagrant case, but the study indicates that similar situations were not unusual.

Care for Sick.—The lack of care for the sick extends even to the most elemental matters. Auerbach found that according to reports from secretaries of the State Boards of Charities in 1914 only forty per cent of the almshouses in the United States make any provision at all for the segregation of contagious disease,—not to mention special care for other types. He says:

"A growing sentiment due perhaps to the activities of anti-tuberculosis societies or other social agencies has brought about some care for the tubercular, for in many places, though cancer and syphilis are given no attention whatever, those afflicted with tuberculosis are given either a separate ward or a tent in the open air. . . . Most of the institutions are small and cannot afford a physician on full time nor is there room for separate wards. The physician is usually chosen not for his interest or ability but because he is the cheapest. The work is let to the lowest bidder and in some places pays no more than $75 or $100 a year, the physician to come once a week and sometimes simply to be ready for calls. . . . Medical records, examinations before admission, or during stay are unknown."

Conditions have unquestionably improved much in the last ten years, but recent investigations made by the Georgia State Board of Public Welfare reveal situations even worse than those revealed by Auerbach, and in general the expense of proper medical care and the fact that

almshouse inmates are out of the way and unvisited by the general public has led to their neglect. Governmental programs of economy are likely to hit the almshouses the hardest, because their inmates are mute. Since so large a portion, especially of the old inmates, are suffering from illness or disability of one form or another, the lack of proper medical attention is particularly reprehensible. Medical examination at admission would unquestionably send many to a hospital rather than to almshouses, with more satisfactory results for all concerned.

Employment and Recreation.—The most deadly thing about an almshouse, as about any institution, is its monotony. Sitting about in groups waiting for death can hardly be a cheerful thing, and that is about what life in the average poorhouse consists of. It may seem strange to classify employment along with recreation, but both serve one important purpose, that of keeping the mind occupied. Alexander Johnson, the veteran secretary of the Indiana State Board of Charities, states that there is no more important part of almshouse administration than the employment of the inmates, not particularly for its cash value, but because it keeps them out of mischief, and helps them to pass the time more agreeably. Auerbach's study showed that three-quarters of the almshouses in the United States provided no means of employment for their inmates.[18] If such is the situation with regard to employment, which might conceivably appeal to the economic interests of the tax-payers, it is even worse with recreation and entertainment. Almshouses are generally located on the outskirts of cities or in rural areas. They are frequently inaccessible and generally forgotten, except at such times as Christmas and Thanksgiving, when an occasional church or club gives a concert. Anything in which the inmates coöperate is practically unknown.

The writer recalls visiting with some anticipation a famous institution for the aged, conducted by a religious order but in most respects similar to other almshouses. He had been told that it had a "recreation room" for men. On examination the recreation room proved to be a large clean room with a table in the center, perhaps for writing, although no one was using it, and comfortable chairs along the sides. There were no games, no books, no magazines, no pictures, no piano, no talking machine. The recreation provided for the feeble old men was to sit in those chairs and contemplate three large mottoes on the walls:

"LIFE IS SHORT"
"ETERNITY IS LONG"
"HELL IS HOT"

[18] Auerbach, op. cit.

This is the only "recreation room" in an almshouse which the author has ever seen. There are undoubtedly poorhouses where attempts at coöperative recreation are made, but they are few and far between. Again the question of size comes in. If the almshouses are large they might afford a recreation worker; but with the smaller poorhouses throughout the country this is an utter impossibility. The result is the absolute lack of interest and occupation which characterizes the ordinary poorhouse. Life is utterly vacant and meaningless, and the only occupation for either mind or body is brooding on the hopelessness of life. The cruelty of this type of "care" is obvious to the most casual student of human nature.

Is it any wonder that visitors describe the modern almshouses, such as that maintained by the City of New York on Blackwell's Island, in terms that recall Dickens:

> I could stand no longer the sight of such depressed, hopeless, sad, vacant, wretched, faces. All seemed to live such a hopelessly monotonous life with no individuality or scope for personal effort.

One of the nurses is quoted as saying:

> "I don't think I can stand it here much longer, it is awful. I don't wonder some of the old people wander down to the river and get in boats and—well, sometimes, nothing more is heard from them."

There are exceptions to this general rule, but they are decidedly exceptions. New York City has a farm colony on Staten Island where old couples are kept together in little cottages, to which they can take their own belongings, and in which such of them as are able to work are given employment about the institution.

High Cost of Almshouse Care.—Another count in the indictment against the almshouse is its cost. The investment in institutional buildings and grounds is enormous. The State of Ohio found that in 1914 it spent approximately five million dollars for the care of its almshouse inmates, and Pennsylvania reports that in 1917 it spent $5,114,307. This money was spent in a most haphazard way,—for example:

> One County Home with eleven inmates spends $6,655.00 or $605.05 per year per inmate; while another County Home with three inmates spends a grand total of $2,570.55 or $856.85 per inmate per year. One almshouse is maintained solely for one inmate and while the direct cost of him to the county was $110.26 there was spent $240.25 or $2.17 per dollar to deliver this money to the inmate.[19]

The situation in most of the states is undoubtedly similar to that in

[19] Pennsylvania Report, p. 57.

Pennsylvania—and in some it is far worse. Such lax methods, where not even a careful financial record of receipts and expenditures is kept, let alone any attention paid to efficient management, would not be tolerated in any private business or in many public departments. But the almshouses, being a source of petty graft and also being out of sight of the average citizen, are generally hopeless muddles, even from the purely business point of view.

Failure of the Almshouse.—In conclusion, then, while the almshouse is the earliest and most common method of caring for the aged that America has developed, it has failed to meet the humanitarian, the social, the psychological, or even the ordinary business test of service. Although some form of institutional care will undoubtedly be necessary for certain classes, a large proportion of whom will be the sick and aged poor, the almshouse as at present administered does not meet that need. Considerable modification is required, in one direction along the lines of increased hospitalization or infirmary care, and in the other in the direction of cottage occupational homes. Such a change would involve an entire making over of our present system—but even then would not meet the situation.

Homes for the Aged.—Because of the shortcomings of the almshouse there have grown up private institutions for various classes of old people, usually known as "Homes." The general criticism made of the *institution* as contrasted with the family home in the care for the aged applies with almost equal force to these.

The Homes are in the main supported by endowments, and frequently the terms of the gift specify the class of individuals to be benefited. Fraternal orders generally support homes for their aged and indigent members. Such homes are frequently provided for old men and old women separately, although there are often homes for aged couples as well. The number of such homes is strictly limited, however, and since their beneficiaries are also limited they scarcely touch the fringe of the problem. Then, too, many such institutions require a considerable entrance fee from each prospective inmate. For the ill and ailing, who either themselves possess the necessary money or whose relatives or friends are willing to subscribe it, such institutions undoubtedly fill an important place. Even with all sorts of peculiar qualifying requirements, the waiting lists are long in most such institutions, and many who are eligible cannot be cared for. For the indigent who are, if not well, at least fairly able-bodied, they offer little in the way of help. In many instances, too, funds are tied up in splendid edifices with well kept grounds and palatially furnished trustee rooms which would be much better and far more socially effective if, to quote Homer Folks, they

"were available for the *support* of the aged either in Homes or homes, according to the individual need."

Mr. Folks calls for concerted action on the part of social workers and of all friends of the aged to prevent the tying up of funds intended for the benefit of the aged to any particular method of care. It is the opinion of most students that we can look to the Homes for little in the way of adequate solution of the general problem, although if properly controlled they can fill a useful though small niche in the care of specialized cases.

Thrift.—The ready answer which the student of the problems of old age meets from laissez-faire theorists or successful business men to the question as to what shall be done to meet the situation described is; Why not depend on thrift and savings? Indeed, the chief objection urged against other methods of care is that they will act against the cultivation of habits of thrift. That thrift and savings are desirable assets, no one denies; further still, the desire to save for old age or for the protection of wife and family after death has become so fundamental a part of social life that it can almost be counted as instinctive—similar to the squirrel's storing of nuts for the winter. This feeling is common to all classes of society, but with the working classes it results in comparatively small savings. The reason is not always lack of thrift—but, as the preceding section on the standard of living tried to make plain, that the income of the average wage-earner rarely reaches a sum sufficient to maintain himself and family on a decent subsistence level and leave any margin for saving. Says Professor Miller:

> "Thrift is a desirable habit for those who receive a wage that makes saving a possibility, but thrift becomes a mockery in the homes of the poor, and 'saving' an economic falsehood." [20]

It is easy for business men with corpulent bank accounts to dogmatize about saving, but for the ordinary worker with the day by day incidents of unemployment, illness, death, and disability staring him in the face to be met with a wage that, even if regular, would scarcely suffice to furnish him and his with the necessary comforts of civilized life, such easy maxims are an insult. Even when the worker is free from these worries and is able to save a little, the desire to make that little ample for his old age leads him not infrequently to invest in some get-rich-quick scheme which takes his all. He is in a precarious position; he can scarcely save enough even under the most favorable conditions to secure a competence, and at the same time his own de-

[20] G. R. Miller, *Social Insurance in the U. S.*, p. 111.

sires for comfort and his woeful ignorance of business methods make him the easy prey of all sorts of swindlers. Here is a point where the state should be more alert to pass and enforce Blue Sky Legislation.

That this is not mere theory is shown by the fact that the average deposits in the Postal Savings Banks, the typical American workingman's bank, in 1919 was $295.88; also that only approximately one out of eighty workingmen in the country were depositors.[21] A report on productive industries recently published by the state of Pennsylvania estimates the per capita savings in that state on January 1, 1920, as $125.10.

The only way to help thrift in the wage-earner is to see, first of all, that he receives a living wage for the service he performs (a wage with an allowance for savings), and second, that so far as possible other contingencies such as unemployment and illness are provided against or removed. Then and not until then can talk of thrift be more than mere words.

Insurance.—Commercial insurance is simply a group form of thrift; a form, however, which is exceptionally popular with wage-earners. Here again, the limits of the income prescribe the amount of insurance which can be carried and the method by which it is carried. The commonest kind among wage-earners is that known as industrial insurance, which provides for small amounts anywhere from $100 to $500, to be paid only at death, the premiums for which are paid weekly. This is a very considerable help in widowhood or even in the case of death of wife or child. At the least it generally provides for the funeral expenses and sometimes the bill for medical care, but it manifestly is of no value in caring for old age. The form of endowment insurance which was instituted to meet this need of competence in declining years is so expensive,—that is, the annual premiums are so large,—that wage-earners can seldom meet them, and most insurance companies make no attempt to do business of this character with them. They believe that the lapses would be too great and the cost of collection too heavy.

Again investigation bears out observation. In 1909 the Massachusetts Commission reported that only 15.9 per cent of the "non-dependent" aged poor carried insurance of any kind, and while in Ohio 55.4 per cent carried life insurance, in nearly half of the cases the amount of the policy was less than $200. Epstein cites the experience of the Massachusetts Savings Bank Commission where the state sells old-age annuities at cost, as the final example of the difficulties which insurance has to meet in attempting to cope with the problem of old age; in that state, after twelve years' experience, only about 300 people had taken out these annuities. Insurance, like thrift,

[21] House Document No. 460—66th Congress—2nd Session.

breaks down as a possible solution in the face of the exacting requirements of the worker's family as compared with the size of his pay envelope.

Industrial Pensions.—A method of meeting the problem of old age dependency which commends itself to many is a pension system administered and directed by the employer. In general large corporations favor a pension system for their aged employees for two reasons: (1) it attracts and keeps a superior class of employees, and (2) it enables the company to dispense with the services of elderly workers without feeling that they are doing them an injustice.

The Pennsylvania Commission received reports from 183 corporations employing 500 or more persons; of the 183, 35 had established regular pension systems; 48 had no system but claimed to "take care" of their aged workers in other ways; while 101 had no system and had never given the matter any consideration.[22] The Merchants Association of New York reported in 1920 that there were only 150 to 200 private industrial pension systems in the United States, and that these were without exception maintained by very large corporations, such as railroads, manufacturing concerns, banks, insurance companies, etc. The number of individuals receiving such pensions is small; even the railroads, which have tried the pension system the longest and in which it is well developed, have pensioned comparatively few employees; the Pennsylvania out of nearly 300,000 employees had only pensioned some nine thousand in nineteen years; the New York Central and all its associated railroads, 2,000 in ten years, and the Baltimore and Ohio 2750 in thirty-six years. While industrial pensions are undoubtedly a solution in many cases, they meet a very small part of the need.

The reasons for the non-adoption or the relative ineffectiveness of industrial pensions in the United States are of two kinds; those which affect the employer and those which affect the worker. In the first group are the following:

(1) Many employers would rather deal personally with their men, than through an impersonal pension system.

(2) In some industries the labor turnover is too large and the difficulties of administering the system seem insurmountable.

(3) In some industries the cost of the system seems too heavy.

Such pensions are objected to by the workers for the following reasons:

(1) Since the funds are administered by the company, the latter is given a tremendous power as against the labor unions. It makes it very difficult to agitate for better conditions in the industry, because the leaders in such agitation might lose their pensions. This objec-

[22] Epstein, *Facing Old Age*, p. 149.

tion is urged with particular force by organized labor. Pensioners are frequently brought back as strike-breakers, also.

(2) Pensions tend to lower wages.

(3) Pensions tend to lessen the mobility of labor.

(4) Frequently the pension is too low and the age of retirement too high.

(5) There is no guarantee that the pension promise will be lived up to. Pensions are looked on by the corporations as a "free gift" which may be withdrawn for "disloyal behavior," or if the corporation gets into difficulties, or dissolves.

These are the reasons given by Epstein, Squiers, and other students of industrial pensions. Whether or not they are all valid, the fact remains that in the United States, even in the largest corporations and in the best organized industries, comparatively few of the employees are so pensioned and the feeling against such systems is strong. The employers are indifferent and the men often hostile.

Pensions for Government Employees.—A sort of industrial pension is paid to employees of the city, state, and nation. Such pensions are much more successful than ordinary industrial pensions. As regards the federal system, the situation is reasonably satisfactory, and the same is true of the systems in certain states. Other states, however, have no system or an inadequate one. Municipal systems vary greatly; many are badly managed. Taking the country as a whole, and all administrative units, governmental employees are less well protected than is generally supposed.

Old Age Benefits—Fraternal Orders and Trade Unions.—Little need be said of fraternal order and trade union attempts to meet the need of their aged members, for although many valiant trials have been made by both groups, they have generally proved inadequate. Most fraternal societies start with some idea of caring for their aged members, as well as others in need, but too often—not realizing the need for large reserve sums and lacking expert actuarial advice—they become insolvent, or give such meagre benefits that they are only a drop in the bucket. If the fraternal society is to care properly for its aged members it must receive from them approximately the same contributions as the insurance company does, and this implies a surplus, which, as has been seen, the ordinary workingman does not possess. Consequently the fraternal society in common with the insurance company helps but little to meet the real need. As a matter of fact it helps far less, for when confronted with heavy assessments for the benefit of older members the younger members of the orders drop out, or at best no new members join, and the order dissolves. Hence promises made are not performed and contributions already made may be lost. Some orders provide homes for their aged members, but

here again the number is strictly limited, and the criticisms made of other types of institutional care apply, to some extent at least, to the fraternal homes.

The trade unions' old age benefits are subject to exactly the same difficulties as those of the fraternal orders. It is hard to secure a sufficiently large contribution from the membership to make such benefits certain, for the plain and sufficient reason that the wage of the workers does not allow a sufficient surplus. Then, too, the fact that the unions are generally averse to incorporation renders their control of the funds even more of a problem than with the fraternal orders. While the ideal of an old age benefit has been constantly considered, few unions have adopted a definite plan and of these many have abandoned it, or are about ready to abandon it, after trial. The United States Commissioner of Labor in 1908 listed 83 unions that paid death benefits; of these but four paid old age pensions.

Several unions have established homes for their aged members, among the most noteworthy being the International Typographical Union. This union also has a pension arrangement, but its finances are such that Epstein says:

"Its future is neither stable nor secure. Should there be a depression in business or a lowering of wages the existence of the fund is threatened. . . . Otherwise, it will necessitate either a reduction in the pensions or an increased rate of assessment." [23]

The Bricklayers' Union has a $5 a week benefit for members of twenty years' standing and sixty years of age or over. Other unions such as the Locomotive Engineers, the Railroad Telegraphers, and the United Mine Workers have or are attempting to secure something in the way of pensions for their aged members, but in general they have been only partial successes and are subject to great risks. It should be noted that it is almost exclusively the highly skilled and consequently better paid workers whose unions have attempted to do anything for their aged members.

The unions themselves have frankly recognized the limitations of this method of caring for those who have passed the working age, and have generally been leaders in agitating for pension systems under governmental auspices. It was a labor union which declared

"The responsibility of caring for the veterans of industry who in times of peace have been the mainspring in the work of material progress, and in times of war have always been ready to sacrifice their all, either in the field of active operations or in bearing the burdens of taxation and support, should as a matter of right and justice rest upon the Government." [24]

[23] Epstein, op. cit., p. 198.
[24] Ibid., p. 208.

Old Age Pensions

From the foregoing analysis of the problem of the aged, and the discussion of the various attempts to meet that problem, it ought to be evident that the existing maladjustment between the aging industrial worker and the community is not being solved by any of the methods considered. The responsibility for the present deplorable situation belongs to society—not to the individual, either the employer or the worker—but to society as a whole. It is primarily the Industrial Revolution, with its entire change of technique and its indirect social and psychological effects on the family and the individual, which has created the problems just considered.

If that is the case, the responsibility for adjusting the situation so that there will be a minimum of suffering belongs to society, which in so many ways has profited by the Industrial Revolution. But society is a vague term; the nearest we come to a social unit in which all are represented is the political unit, the state or the nation. Consequently, within the last fifty years, in all advanced countries except the United States definite steps have been taken to provide adequate and effective care for the aged in their homes through government aid of one kind or another. The feeling has been that such care is a common responsibility of all to be paid by all through taxation.

Old Age Pensions Abroad.—The universality of the old age pension movement is striking; the list of nations having such pensions in active operations reads very much like the list of members of the League of Nations. Two or three countries, such as Belgium, Switzerland, and Japan, have state-subsidized old age insurance systems, but the majority of the industrial nations have organized an old age pension system, either contributory or non-contributory. Contributory systems are those to which either the employer, or the worker, or both, contribute; the present tendency, however, is distinctly away from the contributory system, which is difficult to manage and presents great opportunities for exploitation to unscrupulous politicians. In some countries the system is optional, but the present tendency is in favor of a compulsory system. England has recently—1925—under a Conservative government introduced legislation not only reënacting her previous compulsory, non-contributory, old age pension, but in addition lowering the age of receipt of pension to 65 from 70, increasing the amount of the pension, and doing away entirely with all income qualifications. Every Englishman, whether duke or ditch-digger, may receive an old age pension when he reaches the age of sixty-five, unless he is an inmate of a poor-law institution or has a criminal record.

American Indifference.—One reason why the United States has

lagged behind the other industrial nations is because until very recently we have been more rural than urban, and hence more agricultural than industrial. Denmark, however, one of the most thoroughly agricultural of the Western European nations, was the leader in instituting a pension system. Another and far more important reason has been the thorough-going adoption by the United States of the *laissez-faire* attitude, backed by the feeling that in this new country, "with a fair field and no favors" there was plenty for all, and that those who did not get it were to blame for their condition. This attitude has been incorporated in our written constitutions and in our laws and judicial decisions, until it has become one of the constituent parts of the Great American Epic. In spite of statisticians, in spite of studies by social workers and economists, the feeling has persisted that there was no great old age problem in this new country, and consequently there was no need to follow the example of other countries, some of them even newer than ourselves, such as Australia and New Zealand.

Agitation for Pensions in the United States.—It was not till 1907 that Massachusetts appointed a legislative commission to study old age pensions; that committee, however, reported adversely. Pennsylvania and Ohio later appointed commissions which made favorable reports. The war and reconstruction temporarily destroyed interest in the findings of these commissions, but in 1923 old age pensions bills were introduced in twenty-four of the forty-eight legislatures. The end of that year saw old age pension legislation reported favorably by committees in twelve states, passed by one house of the legislature in six, and actually enacted into law in three states. As Epstein says, the year 1923 marks the year "1" in old age pension legislation in the United States. We are coming to realize that the frontier has been passed, that society must make some provision for those whom it has made dependent, and that a *laissez-faire* attitude, with the concession of the antiquated poorhouse, belongs to nineteenth rather than to twentieth century morality.

Opposition to Old Age Pensions.—There has been, however, considerable opposition to old age pensions, an opposition which was strong enough to defeat the measure when submitted to a referendum in Ohio. In Pennsylvania the courts and the rigid barriers of a written constitution were invoked, and the Old Age Pension Act was declared unconstitutional in 1924. An appeal has since been taken to the State Supreme Court, and if that court sustains the position of the lower court the only hope is to amend the state constitution. It is also claimed that an old age pension is contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, since it is discriminatory in its age limits, and hence denies all the "equal protection of the laws." This federal question has not been adjudicated yet, but undoubtedly if

the Pennsylvania Supreme Court reverses the judgment of the lower court, an appeal will be taken by the opponents of the legislation to the Federal Courts. Recent decisions of the Federal Court do not leave the advocates of old age pensions too hopeful, especially as the opponents of the Pennsylvania law have called it "a new form of outrageous socialism," although it is not nearly as radical as the recent legislation introduced by the strongly anti-socialist Conservatives in England. Regardless of the decisions of the court and temporary setbacks, undoubtedly the United States will ultimately follow the example of other countries. The State of Pennsylvania deserves credit for its attempt to abolish its antiquated poor-law system and put in its place something which is at once humane and efficient.

Old Age Pension—A Socialized Adjustment.—A compulsory non-contributory universal old age pension administered by the states seems to be the solution of the present financial difficulties faced by the aged and those approaching old age. This would by no means meet all their problems; illnesses, mental and physical, lack of psychological adjustment, and many other difficulties would still remain, but the economic basis of many of these troubles would be removed. There must still be infirmaries for those too ill to be cared for in their own homes, groups of cottages for those who could live in their own homes but still need oversight, possibly placing-out under state supervision for those who have no relatives; and probably for the ne'er-do-wells, the aged of low grade mentality, and others of that class, an institution similar to the existing poorhouse. But for the great mass of the unrelieved aged poor a small regular state aid, supplemented by their own occasional earnings and the voluntary—but not absolutely necessary—assistance of relatives, would be sufficient. Would that some of our other social problems could be so easily disposed of—even in theory!

The other problems of the aged must be met by the case-work method. The increasing knowledge of the physiology and psychology of senescence and senility will undoubtedly assist. With the old, however, the economic problem is the basic maladjustment,—the fear of absolute poverty, the feeling of unfairness that comes from being put in the discard. With the old age pension these will be succeeded by a sense of security and a feeling of receiving from society a deferred reward for services rendered. Give the old security and status, keep them in their own homes where possible, let them "paddle their own canoes," and many of the other problems, even those of health, become distinctly minor. Granted that the expense will be heavy—but society pays for them anyway; why not distribute the burden fairly through taxation? Such is the adjustment which the social scientist recommends for the solution of the problem of the aged.

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CHAPTER IX

THE ILLS WHICH FLESH IS HEIR TO

In primitive communities, illness and disease were considered a direct punishment for sin by the gods, and their treatment and cure was a matter for the medicine man or magician. In more modern times we have given the physician the place which the magician formerly held, and have felt that the cure and to a considerable extent the prevention of disease should be left in his hands. But it has been impossible, as it would be undesirable, to confine interest in health matters to a professional group. Nothing directly influences so many people as health, or the lack of it. Our entire economic, social, intellectual, and indeed our religious and political life is colored by health, both of the individual and the community. Hence the problem of disease, its incidence, variety, cure, and prevention, has always been a social concern of the first magnitude. In the following sections, the medical aspects of ill-health will not be dealt with; they belong to the physician. An attempt will be made, however, to sketch very briefly the extent of the social maladjustments which ill-health brings about, to suggest some of the social factors that lie at the roots of both poor and good health, and to discuss some of the social adjustments which are being and can be made to bring about better health for the individual and the community.

Illness not a Matter of Chance.—In the first place, it must be recognized that health is not a fortuitous matter. Illness is not inevitable; in a far truer sense than our ancestors dimly saw it is a punishment for sin,—individual or communal. The sin may be simply ignorance of the laws of life, or it may be disregard of them, or again it may be unwillingness to pay the price which health demands. Not only public health but private is "purchasable."

But since the sin is in many cases due to ignorance, the most important preventive is education. A knowledge of the causes, social and individual, of illness, is of all things the most important. Following the knowledge should come a utilization of the forces which science has mobilized to combat the disease. That this knowledge is available, even our brief study of certain social diseases and their treatment will show. That it is necessary, even the most general observation of the effects of disease will demonstrate.

Diseases and the Death-rate.—It has been customary to test the

anti-social effects of illness by the effect on the death-rate. This is the most objective criterion, and it would be fair if it were confined to untimely deaths. Unfortunately we have incomplete data as to the ages and diseases combined. It is certain, however, that some diseases generally attack individuals either in childhood or in the prime of life, and consequently their incidence is especially harmful. Of these the most important are "the infectious disorders, tuberculosis, pneumonia and influenza, syphilis, diarrhœa, and the communicable diseases of childhood." [1] Of these as causes of the total death-rate pneumonia (with 10.5 per cent of the total in the registration area for 1920), syphilis with an estimated 10 per cent, and tuberculosis with 8.7 per cent, are the most numerous causes of death. Organic heart disease, which has an even higher percentage in total death rate than pneumonia, viz. 10.9 per cent, kidney disease 6.8 per cent, and cancer, 6.4 per cent, frequently take people in middle life, but their great toll is in the later years, while of apoplexy, 6.2 per cent, this is even more true. From the point of view of social and economic waste of life the diseases in the first list are far more serious.

Causes of Death in Infancy.—In some respects the most serious waste occurs in infancy, where the death-rate is the highest until the age groups of 75 and over are reached. In the United States registration area for 1920, embracing 82 per cent of the population, the death-rate per 1000 was 96.7 for infants under one year of age. It is in the reduction of the infantile death-rate, however, that the most encouraging progress has been made, due largely to increased medical knowledge plus a vastly wider public interest. This interest has shown itself in the establishment of baby welfare clinics, the control of the milk supply, and the development of child welfare nursing.

Deaths in Early Adult Life.—From another point of view the death-rate in early manhood and womanhood is even more important. Economically, society has invested large sums of money in rearing and training individuals, and just at the time when they are ready to make a return on the investment, they are taken away. Consequently, tuberculosis and syphilis are particularly serious, and influenza and pneumonia as well. It is not only from the economic aspect either that such diseases are serious. These young people are just about starting family life of their own and they often leave widows and orphans to the none too tender mercies of the world.

Indirect Cost of Illness.—But it is not only resultant death which makes disease the most dreaded enemy of mankind. All sicknesses disable to a greater or lesser degree; even if the illness is so slight or the individual so careless that he is able to keep on with his work, the disablement exists just the same; he is unable to work at par, and his

[1] Moore, H. A., *Public Health in the United States*, New York, 1923, p. 17.

suffering and inconvenience affect his attitude toward his work. In addition to the disablement and suffering of the individual himself there is another social factor not always taken into account, the amount of suffering and labor which illness entails on those associated with him, his family and friends. Even when the actual care is slight the burden which an ill member of a family inevitably throws on the shoulders of other members is great. Hexter in a recent analysis of social causes of business cycles points out that a financier with a sick child at home is bound to have his financial vision blurred by home conditions, perhaps even to the extent of motivating financial disaster. This cost of illness cannot be estimated, but its effects are enormous.

Economic Costs.—The more direct costs have been studied in two ways; first by cross-sectional investigations where "several thousand homes are visited by investigators during a short period of time," [2] and second by record-keeping of the health of particular groups over an entire year. Moore refers to an investigation made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company during the years 1915, 1916, and 1917 when the health records of 571,757 persons were obtained in seven different states. Approximately two per cent of the entire number of white persons canvassed were found to be so ill that they could not work.[3] Of these diseases the most important were found to be the following:

Influenza and pneumonia	11.6%
Rheumatism	8.7
Nervous Diseases	7.7
Digestive diseases	6.8
Tuberculosis	4.6
Heart Diseases	4.3
Apoplexy and paralysis	3.5
Kidney Diseases	3.4
Colds	2.7
Childbirth	2.5
Measles	2.1
Appendicitis	2.0
Whooping Cough	2.0

If the Metropolitan figures are to be taken as typical of the whole country there are at least two million persons each day disabled by illness to such a degree that they cannot work, and the disabling diseases would approximate the order given above. It must be borne in mind that 1917 was the "flu" year, so that the percentage of influenza and pneumonia was abnormal. However the fact that there are thou-

[2] Ibid., p. 34.
[3] Ibid.

sands of hospitals in the United States with a recently estimated bed capacity of 800,000 and that most of these hospitals are over-crowded, makes one fairly sure that the two million estimate is no exaggeration.

Studies from the point of view of yearly records cited by Moore give similar results. Eight to nine days' loss per annum per worker seems to be about the average, and this does not include permanent invalids at all.

In both these studies, and in others made of school children and from the 1921 New York State record of reportable diseases, the following are listed by Moore as occurring most frequently. These, it must be borne in mind, are disabling rather than fatal diseases:

Influenza
Tuberculosis
Colds.
Measles
Scarlet fever
Whooping cough
Pneumonia

Measles, scarlet fever, and whooping cough are especially prominent because of the number of school children studied. It is significant, however, to note the incidence of respiratory infections, and especially of the infections that start with what is apparently a "cold."

The Cost of Disease in Money.—Moore attempts to assemble roughly certain of the economic costs of disease, and even with minimum estimates the total in dollars and cents is staggering. In order that they may be more easily understood his figures are here presented in tabular form:

COSTS OF ILLNESS

Salaries of Doctors	$420,000,000
" " Nurses	272,000,000
" " Office Assistants, etc.	80,000,000
Hospital Care	300,000,000
Loss of Wages	1,000,000,000
Decreased Efficiency (Defects and Minor Ailments)	1,000,000,000
Cost of Medicine	345,000,000
" " Premature Death—	1,500,000,000

The total amount of these figures is approximately five billion of dollars, much of it absolutely preventable.

Method of Study.—The best way of ascertaining the social adjustments to be made in the conquest of disease is through a brief study of

the causes, effects, and treatment of the principal diseases. In a book of this nature medical detail is out of place. There are some adjustments which are common to all diseases, mental and physical alike, and these can be summarized in another chapter, but in general each disease requires its own set of adjustments social, as well as medical. Space prevents a full consideration of the problem, and only the more significant diseases can be treated.

Syphilis and Gonorrhea

Syphilis and gonorrhea are worthy of first consideration in any discussion of the social effects of diseases, not only because of the ravages which they bring in their train—ravages so great that a recent medical writer says that the progress of civilization depends largely on whether or not it can conquer syphilis—but because the adjustments to be made are in a large part social as the cause is social, viz, illicit sexual relations.

Causes of Venereal Disease.—The two diseases themselves are entirely different, biologically speaking; they are due to a different germ and have different results on the individual. Both, however, spring from the same cause. Although there is a fairly large percentage of so-called innocent venereal infection, some of it hereditary, some due to contact other than sexual with infected individuals, and some again, and by far the most numerous type, due to infection by diseased husbands or wives, largely the former, of the innocent spouse, the ultimate cause is due to illicit sex relations, and in most cases, almost certainly more than three quarters, with prostitutes. Hence the cause for these diseases is almost entirely social, and lies in our social system.

Prostitution and Venereal Disease.—This leads at once to the question of prostitution and illicit sex relations generally. Prostitution is the procuring of sexual satisfaction, usually by the male, for a price. It is distinguished from ordinary illicit sex relations solely by its financial aspect. Theoretically, society countenances sex relations only inside the marriage bond, and all other relations are illicit.

Regarding prostitution as a cause of venereal infection, there is no argument. Physicians state that few prostitutes are free from syphilis and even fewer from gonorrhea. Kneeland reports that of 466 girls tested at the Bedford Reformatory, practically all committed for prostitution or immorality, only 10.7 per cent were found free from venereal infection.[4] Other groups of prostitutes examined, both in this country and abroad, give similar results, and with the use of the Wasserman tests, the percentage of the diseased is found to approach 100 in many

[4] Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York*, p. 188.

such group examinations. Where physicians have been able to obtain reliable information as to the source of infection in other groups prostitution again figures in the leading rôle. Fournier, a French authority on syphilis, reports that of 867 syphilitic men, 723 claimed to have been infected by open or clandestine prostitutes or by mistresses, theater women, etc.[5] Snow, in reporting similar studies in New York, says that the records of venereal clinic in that city for a year showed the sources of infection to have been as follows: [6]

Street Prostitutes	36.6
House Prostitutes	18.9
Domestics	10.
Friends	10.
Working Women	7.7
Wives	1.5
Unknown	14.7

Vedder after carefully reviewing the medical literature on the subject comes to the conclusion that "more than 90 per cent of sexually acquired syphilitic infections (and the same might be said of gonorrhea) in men are derived from prostitutes either open or clandestine." [7]

In addition to direct prostitution the second source in point of numbers is found in other types of illicit relations; although the relative amount is far smaller, nevertheless it covers a fairly large number of cases. While socially there is considerable distinction between promiscuous or partially promiscuous immorality and prostitution, the line between one and the other is hard to draw, and one might lump these two most potent of all causes of those most dread of all diseases. This is not to say that all individuals who break the code of sex morality acquire venereal disease, but unquestionably they run a very grave risk.

Innocent Infection.—Although sexual immorality is the ultimate cause of all venereal infections, and although if immorality could be done away with the amount of infection would rapidly diminish and ultimately disappear, it must be borne in mind that at present thousands of absolutely innocent people suffer from these diseases. The largest group consists of the wives and children of infected husbands and fathers; husbands infect their wives directly and the infected wives in turn pass on the disease to their children. In addition to this group there is a considerable number of cases due to accidental infection, from

[5] Fournier, *Les Chancres Extragenitaux,* Paris, 1897.

[6] Snow, W. F., *Occupations and Venereal Disease,* Jour. Am. Med. Assoc., 1915, LXV p. 2054.

[7] Vedder, E. B., *Syphilis and Public Health,* Philadelphia, 1918, p. 159.

other contacts with infected individuals, such as kissing, the use of infected utensils, towels, etc., careless surgical operations, especially vaccination, and medical and nursing contacts. Vedder concludes that from five to ten per cent of syphilitic infections are due to such contacts.

Extent of Venereal Diseases.—It has been very difficult to ascertain the extent of syphilis and gonorrhea, and even today the only figures available are based on the studies of sections of the population in various countries. Perhaps the most exhaustive survey is that made by the British Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases, which after a three year study reported in 1916 as follows:

> While we have been unable to arrive at any positive figures, the evidence we have received leads us to the conclusion that the number of people that have been infected with syphilis, acquired or congenital, cannot fall below 10% of the whole population . . . and the percentage infected with gonorrhea must greatly exceed this proposition.

Similar data are at hand from the United States:

> The results of a survey of the Wasserman test of adults admitted to hospitals (apart from venereal clinics) in five large cities of the United States showed 9.5% positives out of a total of 15,264. Vedder obtained 13% positive reactions in 11,933 recruits for the U. S. Army in 1916, 15% of 846 candidates for the police force, and 5% of 3,023 candidates for commissions in the army. It is worthy of note that in the same locality which gave 5.8% positive Wassermans, Warthin found evidence of syphilis in 30% of post-mortem examinations. Hence Jeans concludes that the minimum of syphilitics in the United States is 10%, and the probable percentage twenty.[8]

The Royal Commission estimated that the ratio of gonorrhea to syphilis in the general population was approximately 5:2, taking army results as its data. Many individuals acquire both diseases. It seems fair to assume that from 20 per cent to thirty per cent of the population both of England and the United States have suffered from venereal disease. This is a very conservative estimate.

Class Distribution of Venereal Infection.—The distribution of venereal diseases among various classes and groups in the population is significant. Vedder has summarized other studies made and compared them with his own result for syphilis. There is every reason to conclude that the relative incidence of gonorrhea would be similar in each group, although the percentage of infection would be much larger.

The following table is compiled from Vedder's conclusions: [9]

[8] Medical Science Abstracts and Reviews, Vol. 1, 1919–20, p. 237.
[9] Vedder, op. cit., pp. 96–102.

Percentage of Syphilis

Prostitutes	50–100%	—depending on length of service
The Insane	15–30	
Adult Hospital Admission	20–30	(excluding venereal cases)
Private Patients	10–20	
Tuberculous Cases	20–30	
Sick Children	3–10	
Defective Children	20–40	
Criminals	20–40	
Healthy Army Enlistments	20	
Presumably Healthy Women	3–20	
Healthy Negroes (Male)	36	
" " (Female)	40	

The high percentage of infection among the criminal classes, the tubercular, defective children (where in most cases it must be hereditary), and among negroes, both male and female, is striking.

Geographical Distribution.—It is quite natural that the incidence of venereal disease should vary from country to country and from one section of a country to another. Among European countries, Russia leads in the amount of infection, while Asia Minor and the parts of Africa, where there are white colonies, have a fearfully high percentage. In these parts of the world often half the adult population is infected. Central and southeastern Europe also return high percentages of infection, while France and central Europe show rates not far in excess of those for the United States and Great Britain and the British Dominions.

In the United States itself the incidence of the diseases varies from section to section and from state to state. The most comparable estimates were obtainable from the War Department figures of the percentage of venereal infection among white soldiers in 1918. It must be borne in mind that these were active cases only. These figures showed the lowest percentage of active infection in five northwest and mountain states; viz. North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, and Nevada, and the highest incidence in the south central states of Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky and Mississippi. Only three southern states—Virginia, North Carolina, and Oklahoma,—showed a percentage of active infection less than 4.5%, while only two northern states, Kansas and Illinois, equalled that amount. One cannot escape the conclusion that this infection among the southern *whites* is another item in the bill paid for negro slavery.

Results of Venereal Diseases.—The two diseases have quite different effects, although both are serious. Gonorrhea not only temporarily disables its victims, but it is the cause of opthalmia neonatorum (infant blindness), and is one of the most common causes of sterility and of

various disabling female disorders. It is most difficult to cure and hence is doubly dangerous; cases lie latent for years and suddenly spring into life. One of the reasons why gonorrhea is so serious is that it is commonly disregarded by its victims, and considered only as a "common cold" might be. Like a common cold it debilitates the system and bring in its wake other diseases which are even more dangerous.

The effects of syphilis are far-reaching. While the active disease is painful and disabling in most cases, that is not the worst. Vedder says

> syphilis is the real cause of death in all cases of paresis, locomotor ataxia and aortic aneurism (a heart condition), in many cases of cerebral hemorrhage and apoplexy, organic disease of the heart, liver and kidneys, and is a contributing cause of death in a host of other conditions, including, perhaps, one-fifth of all cases of pulmonary tuberculosis.

Sir William Osler places the actual, not reported, deaths from syphilis in the United Kingdom in 1915 as 60,000, and he ranks it *first* among the causes of death.

But it is not as a cause of death that syphilis is most to be feared. The syphilitic germ seems to have a particular potency in connection with the brain and nervous system, and years after the infection was received it may bring on insanity and general nervous disorders. The organic heart diseases following syphilis disable long before they kill, and the individual becomes, sometimes for years, a helpless invalid.

The social effects of syphilis are equally serious. Dr. MacLaurin in his interesting studies [10] of effects of disease in the development of civilization through its effect on rulers, statesmen, and thinkers, points out again and again the disastrous effects of syphilitic infection on the destiny of nations.

The Prevention of Venereal Disease.—All venereal disease originates from sexual immorality; hence the most effective method of prevention would be through the reduction of the amount of such immorality, or ideally through its complete elimination. This is not the place to discuss the social aspects of prostitution and promiscuity; we are concerned here primarily with their physiological effects, as evidenced through venereal disease. In principle all students of the subject are agreed that from the standpoint of health, as well as from many other points of view, society would be a thousand times better off if all sex relations were confined to married people; but most students also agree that such a condition is a counsel of perfection, certainly not one that seems within attainment under present conditions. However, that is no reason why every possible effort should not be made to reduce

[10] *Post Mortem*, and *Mere Mortals*.

the volume of prostitution and immorality, since every such reduction would immediately show itself in a reduction of venereal infection.

Recent Recognition of the Problem.—The problem before society is how this shall be done. Strange to say, the problem has been recognized only in comparatively recent times. Within the last quarter century there has sprung up a very keen interest in the questions of sex morality, coupled with a strong demand that prostitution must go. The entrance of women into public life has undoubtedly acted to strengthen this conviction.

Suppression vs. Regulation.—So far as prostitution is concerned, those who have dealt with the problem may be divided into two camps; one group standing for suppression through police power, and the second for regulation. Legally, the United States and England have stood for suppression, although there have been numerous exceptions; while actually the attitude of the public in both countries has been that of the ostrich: they have refused to recognize the existence of the evil, except when it could not be avoided. At times, for instance during the late war, the country has demanded the enforcement of the law, and there have been strenuous clean-up campaigns, after many of which conditions have gradually become as bad as before. On the whole, however, the amount of the diseases was diminished, at least during the campaigns, and that much has been accomplished.

Arguments for and against Suppression.—Theoretically, the suppression of prostitution is unassailable. Practically there are many arguments against it, the most important of which is that, like prohibition, suppression does not work. The opponents of suppression claim that present social conditions make it inevitable that there should be a demand for sexual satisfaction outside of marriage and that prostitution meets that demand. They base their claim to a very considerable extent on the assumption that owing to economic conditions men in civilized society are not prepared to marry until twenty-five or thirty, while physiologically they are prepared for sex relationships at eighteen or earlier. This argument ignores any possibility of sublimation or control of the sex appetite. It also ignores the patent fact that it applies to any large extent only to the upper classes in society, and that while these classes are not immune from venereal infection, they suffer far less than do the lower classes, with whom there is little impediment to early marriage. Another prominent argument is that man is polygamous by nature and that he instinctively revolts against monogamy. Whether or not this is true, is as yet an open question, although many of the lower animals are monogamous, and few if any of them are as promiscuous in their sex relationships as many human beings are. It is interesting, too, that this argument is almost never applied to women; it is only the men who are so strongly sexed. If true, it

would seem that promiscuity were a sex-limited characteristic. A possible explanation is that this apparently promiscuous nature of man is the result of education, and if so, a different type of education which impressed on boys and girls alike the virtues of chastity and the dangers of immorality might effect a great change.

A far more valid argument against suppression is that it has so far proved impractical, not because of any inherent biologic or economic condition, but because the public generally has not realized the price to be paid for momentary gratification. It seems to the writer that most of the reasons given why suppression does not suppress are rationalizations. The real reason is that the facts as to the results of prostitution have been kept secret by the medical profession, and hence the general public has seen no reason why an institution which offered enjoyment should be frowned upon by society.

On the practical side it has also been urged that suppression only led to hidden rather than open vice, and that the former was more dangerous. That there is something to this statement, is obvious; it brings clearly to the fore the contention that legalistic methods, alone, are ineffective. The suppression of prostitution, like the prohibition of the liquor traffic, if it is to be effective, must be preceded by an extensive campaign of education.

Regulation.—The case for regulation rests primarily on the belief that it is impossible to eliminate immorality, and that such immorality had better confine itself to controlled houses of prostitution rather than be spread broadcast through the community.

Segregated Districts.—Control has generally been of two kinds; one, very rough and ready, the segregated district. This simply means that the police have tried to see that prostitution goes on only in a particular district, and the chief aim is to keep it out of sight. Whether or not this is effective, even in keeping the prostitute within limits, is an open question. In the United States it certainly has not succeeded. It has made it an object for the prostitutes or those backing the business to get out of the district, and they have been willing to pay for protection for that purpose. It may possibly have done something to keep down the number of patrons, but even here the massing of large numbers of prostitutes in a definite area has also served to advertise the opportunity and to stimulate business. On the whole, segregation may be considered a failure, so far as securing any reduction in the amount of venereal infection is concerned. As a matter of fact, since the war it has practically been given up in this country.

Inspection and Registration.—The second method of regulation, viz., medical inspection and police registration of prostitutes, has never been tried to any extent in America or England, but is popular

on the Continent. This would have certain advantages from the health standpoint, if medical inspection were properly carried out, and if (again a counsel of perfection) every prostitute were compelled to register. As a matter of fact, adequate medical inspection would require full-time attendance of a physician at each house of prostitution and at least daily inspection of each inmate (ideally inspection after each act), and thoroughgoing Wasserman and gonorrheal tests. The expense of such a system, even if it were physically possible, would make it prohibitive. Any system of regulation, even the best such as has obtained in some of the German cities, although it may help to keep down infection to some degree, is by and large a failure. That there is no city in Europe where such regulation is satisfactory, is the opinion of practically every competent medical observer. Aside from the impracticability of the system of regulation as a preventive of disease (the question under immediate discussion), there are certain positive contributions which it makes toward increased infection. The most important of these is that regulation promotes illicit intercourse because of a widespread belief that it is safe. Vedder says:

> If regulation is inefficient, as has practically always been the case, venereal diseases may be actually increased as a result of the increased indulgence following the false impression of security.[11]

Another objection is that the male offender escapes to spread further contagion. This is not only bad from the health point of view but it violates the sense of fairness of the community—a newly-won sense of fairness, it is true—which is coming to believe that so far as possible both sexes should be treated on an equality. Another, but to the mind of the writer, decidedly weak argument against regulation is that it is an invasion of personal liberty. In the same way compulsory vaccination or quarantine might be considered an invasion.

Vedder's summary of the possibilities of regulation points out its fundamental weaknesses so well that we cannot do better than quote it:

> The faults that have been found with the medical service of inspection have undeniably existed. But they are not necessary. Theoretically, it would be easy to describe a satisfactory and efficient method of medical inspection. It would, however, be very costly, and it is doubtful whether the community would bear the expense of a properly conducted inspection.
>
> Discussion might be endless, but it is stale and unprofitable. Systems of regulation have not worked in the past, and while it cannot be denied that this is no proof that they cannot be made to work, it constitutes weighty evidence in favor of the belief that with our defective organization and human frailties they will not work in the future either. Add to this the undoubted fact that the moral sense of the community is opposed to regulation, and the

[11] Vedder, op. cit., p. 230.

situation becomes such that the sanitary officer might as well abandon any intention to establish such a system, even though he personally may believe in it.[12]

Treatment.—The goal of eliminating the occasion for venereal disease should not be lost sight of, but its attainment is still far distant, and meanwhile the existing problem must be met. Prompt and adequate treatment must be provided for those who are infected, in order that they may not serve as foci for the disease, and equally important is the spread of knowledge of personal prophylaxis for those who run the risk of infection.

Regarding the ethics of treatment there is no question; everyone is agreed that the sick should be healed. Socially, too, there is every reason for treatment, for if all infected people were cured the disease itself would in time die out. Fortunately, within the last few years effective methods of treating both syphilis and gonorrhea have been developed by the medical profession. The problem is to see that the diseased people actually receive the treatment; since infectious disease is a community problem as well as an individual one, the state has an obligation to insist on treatment, and adequate treatment too, not by charlatans or by quack nostrums.

Census of Cases—Notification.—In order that all venereally diseased persons should be treated the public health authorities should know where such cases are, just as they know where cases of typhoid, smallpox, and other far less dangerous diseases are located. This brings up the question of notification, by name and address, of all venereal cases. The objections to notification come from two sources; from the physicians who believe that it is violating the confidence of their patients, and that patients will not go to physicians who notify but will prefer quack doctors who do not; and from the patients themselves. The venereal diseases naturally are considered disgraceful, and consequently diseased people feel differently about them than about other diseases. Moreover, physicians feel that notification of and by itself is useless unless there are adequate facilities for treatment.

The Quack.—The objection in regard to quacks is a very real one, and it is concerned not only with venereal diseases, but with other ills as well. This is a place where the state should step in and enact stringent laws—indeed, most communities have laws, but not always stringent or enforced,—prohibiting the practice of any who are not properly qualified physicians. Such laws should be enforced by the health officers in the same way in which quarantine is enforced. There is little doubt that if this were done the quacks would diminish in

[12] Ibid., pp. 234–235.

number. If in addition the newspapers refused to accept advertising material not only from such near-physicians—(as many newspapers already do), but also of patent remedies purporting to cure venereal disease, the danger that notification would throw the cases into the hands of unprincipled medical adventurers would be considerably lessened. The posting of advertisements regarding treatment should also be prohibited by law. In addition to this step positive educational propaganda regarding the dangers and the steps necessary for treatment of venereal disease should be undertaken by the medical associations, aided by groups of public-spirited citizens interested in health problems and the public health authorities.

> The main source of revenue for the quack is the ignorant man who believes the statements in the advertisements, and the deluded mortal who believes that he is going to secure a cure in a shorter time and for less expenditure than if he went to a qualified physician.[13]

Public Clinics.—If the state also, recognizing the importance of these diseases, organized and supported, as some states and indeed the nation during the war have done, public clinics in which treatment was given free to those unable to pay for it, the clientele of the fakir would rapidly dwindle, and one argument against reporting would become utterly invalid. That of violating the patient's confidence is utter drivel; physicians violate such confidences hundreds of times in the year in reporting other diseases; and in addition, as one physician puts it

> The community is also our patient, besides issuing our license to practice, and we should think quite as much about violating the confidence of the community as about the confidence of the individual patient.[14]

Notification should be followed by enforced treatment, either by private physicians in the case of those able to pay, or in publicly supported clinics for the poorer classes. If the necessary legislation were passed giving to the health officers power to see that adequate treatment is continued until definite cure is effected, not only will the individuals be cured, but a great step forward in prevention will be taken.

Prophylaxis.—The second step to be taken in the prevention of venereal disease has occasioned even more debate. The public may be reluctant to require notification, or to appropriate enough money for free clinics, or to pass legislation making treatment compulsory, but on the general proposition of treatment there is complete harmony.

Not so as to prophylaxis. Prophylaxis is defined as "the guarding against an attack of some disease." This is not the place to discuss

[13] Ibid., p. 244.
[14] Ibid., p. 242.

the methods to prevent venereal infection which medical science has found effective, but it may be said that prophylactic measures, both mechanical and chemical, have been developed which carefully used and immediately applied reduce the danger of disease to a minimum. The experience of the British and American troops in the Great War showed that under military control, with proper instruction from medical officers, the free provision of prophylactic material, and frequent inspections to prevent concealment of disease, infection could be prevented in the vast majority of cases. It is questionable whether as effective results would be obtained in civil life, since there would be neither the medical control nor the penalties for concealment. There is little question, however, that common knowledge of prophylactic measures and ready availability of the necessary material would do more under present conditions to reduce the amount of infection than anything else. In the long run education leading to a better moral condition in the community, followed by the suppression of prostitution, would do more and would solve a social as well as a medical problem, but until that education has had time to become effective, prevention is a most necessary step.

Venereal Disease a Punishment for Sin.—Until recently prophylaxis has made but slight headway in the United States, except in the army, primarily because many sincerely good people have believed that any step which mitigates the punishment for immorality tends to condone sin. It has also been argued that the fear of disease deters many from vice, and that by removing that fear, through prophylaxis, vice will be encouraged. On the first point we can do no better than to quote again from Col. Vedder:

> Venereal diseases are not a punishment for immorality. The prime essential of a punishment is that it should be justly applied; that is that the person who errs should always be punished, the person who does not err should not be punished, and the severity of the punishment should be proportionate to the heinousness of the offense. Venereal diseases do not fulfill any of these requirements of a just punishment. Of the many who indulge in illicit intercourse, some are infected and some are not, and many innocent wives and children are also infected. The man who betrays an innocent girl escapes all infection for the very reason that she is innocent, and yet his offense is far more flagrant than that of a man who consorts with a prostitute and becomes infected. Moreover one man contracts syphilis and another gonorrhea, thus providing different grades of punishment for the same offense. One man who develops syphilis, perhaps at his first offense, may develop paresis or locomotor ataxia, while the syphilis acquired by the man who is habitually immoral may cause him little inconvenience. We must believe that God is just, and it is difficult to believe that a just God ever devised such an unjust punishment. The belief that disease is a punishment for sin

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is an obsolete theology. No one would now consider typhoid fever or furnunculosis a punishment for sin whatever may have been thought in Job's time. Disease is the result of our ignorance and carelessness, and venereal diseases are no exception to this rule.[15]

Prophylaxis and the Removal of Fear.—As to the second point there is this to be said: prophylaxis is not 100% certain, and to that extent, at least, the fear would remain. Moreover, and perhaps more important, fear has so far done little to prevent venereal infection. The majority of those infected are young, and the young proverbially fear nothing, especially nothing which comes due in the, to them, distant future. The fact that many men will wittingly risk venereal disease for a moment's pleasure or, as was the case with some malingerers in the army, to escape some temporarily unpleasant experience, speaks volumes for the lack of fear in which they are held. Unquestionably increased education as to the effects of venereal disease would increase the fear in which they are held, but the right sort of sex education would do much more than this and lead the way toward control of the desire itself. Then, too, it must be borne in mind that prophylaxis itself carries with it certain disadvantages.

Aids to Prophylaxis.—It is also maintained that in civil life prophylaxis requirements are not likely to be observed by the immature boys, the half-drunken men, the defective girls, the average prostitutes who constitute the bulk of citizens who should be protected. That is all very true and unquestionably the prophylaxis alone would not put an end to venereal infection. Better teaching of adolescents, the control of the drink-evil through education as well as prohibition, segregation and guardianship of the defective, would help in this problem as in others. But it seems certain that a considerable number of infections would be prevented by prophylaxis in civil life, and that the method should be given a trial. Information on the subject should certainly be available to physicians in civil practice, and health departments should keep on hand sanitary packets which private physicians and health agencies could distribute to such of their patients as might use them.

Whether or not it is possible to devise some system of punishment in civil life, as it is in the army, for those who become infected through failure to use prophylaxis, is uncertain. Unquestionably such legislation presents difficulties both to get passed and to get enforced, yet there is no reason why a community which punishes an individual because he is intoxicated on the ground that he is a danger to public welfare should not punish equally an individual who knowingly runs the risk of becoming a far greater public menace.

[15] Ibid., pp. 193–194.

Other Preventive Measures.—Aside from marital infection, hereditary syphilis and gonorrheal infection at birth, other so-called innocent infections are mainly due to carelessness or unhygienic conditions. Promiscuous kissing, unclean barber-shops and soda-fountains, and careless and incompetent medical men and midwives, are responsible for a very considerable amount of infection. Aside from the kissing, these factors are all to a degree subject to public control. Boards of Health in many cities carefully inspect barber-shops, soda-fountains, etc., and more and more the requirements for medical and dental practitioners are tightening up. Along these lines some progress will be made in the prevention of venereal as well as other infection, although this is a minor part of the whole problem.

Routine Tests.—Another important preventive of venereal disease, as well as a factor in the treatment of the individual sufferer, is the requirement of routine tests, wherever and whenever possible. While the test for gonorrhea is not as sure as that devised for syphilis, it is supposed to detect the majority of cases, and clinical examination by an experienced physician will detect many others.

The urgency of Wasserman tests by both parties before marriage is evident to anyone who spends a moment's thought on the subject. Such tests should be required by law. This does not necessarily mean that all who show evidences of the disease should be forbidden to marry, although many of the best authorities claim that a positive Wasserman is in itself evidence that the syphilis is in a contagious state. If the patient insists on marriage, the examining physician should at least be instructed to inform the other party of the condition, so that he or she may go on with the marriage with eyes open to its dangers. The writer would agree with the physicians who advocate prohibition of marriage to all who have a positive Wasserman, if it were not for the fact that such prohibitions are so easily evaded. If every state in the union passed such a law and properly enforced it, it might be possible, and as a result the large proportion of marital and hereditary syphilis would be averted: Meanwhile, a considerable step in advance would be enforced routine examination with the results mutually exchangeable, so that no one should enter marriage blindfold on this point. In this way not only many cases of disease would be prevented, but a very large number of unhappy and ultimately broken marriages would be guarded against.

It is also becoming common among the best private physicians to give Wasserman tests to all patients whom they are treating for any length of time,—often with results surprising to the physicians themselves. Many clinics also give routine Wassermans to many types of cases, and such tests are given by some of the best penal institutions.

Also many social service organizations make it a practice to see that Wasserman tests are given to their clients. This is particularly true with child-placing agencies, and indeed should be made obligatory by regulation of the State Board of Charity in both children's institutions and placing agencies. Whether public schools could give such tests without too much difficulty is doubtful, but it would be quite possible for colleges to give a routine Wasserman along with other physical tests. This would enable the college authorities to make provision for treatment as well as to protect other students. Infected persons need not be barred from college, but the authorities should insist that they secure adequate treatment as a condition of their remaining. In men's colleges, a routine Wasserman should be given to all students at least once a year. There are undoubtedly other groups for whom routine Wassermans could be arranged without too much difficulty. Some housekeepers insist on tests for domestic servants, and large employers of labor might well see that their employees are tested periodically. It should be borne in mind that tests perform two valuable services; first, they safeguard the healthy against accidental infection, and second, they lead the way to treatment and hence to cure of many who were not aware of their condition, but might later develop a serious and perhaps incurable affliction.

In this connection the question of expense comes again to the fore. Few private physicians and not all clinics can afford the necessary laboratory equipment. Some state departments of health provide laboratory facilities where tests are made free or at a nominal charge, and such service should be universal. The expense would be slight indeed compared with the social value, and with large numbers of tests the expense per test would be very low.

Conclusion.—Venereal disease has been discussed at some length both because it is perhaps the most dangerous disease which society has to combat, and also because it is emphatically a *social* disease. It constitutes a social problem of the greatest magnitude, and its prevention and ultimate eradication are primarily matters of social adjustment. First of all, the silence which has surrounded these diseases must go,—indeed, it is already fast going. The public should be educated as to the whole problem. These diseases are closely tied up with the entire sex problem, and education should not confine itself to disease prevention alone but to an adjustment of the relations of the sexes, which will make prostitution and illicit sex relations far less a factor in social life than they are at present. While continuing along this line with the ultimate goal of a cleaner moral life ahead, use should by all means be made of such methods as medical science has discovered for the detection, treatment, and prevention of further in-

fection. The effective use of such means calls for continuous public education, and at times for the sanction of law, either forbidding or allowing certain practices.

The general public has a heavy responsibility. Even without much change in public morality, physicians could prevent much syphilis provided they had public support for the measures which they advocate. That support should be given ungrudgingly and unstintedly; but it should not for a moment delay efforts toward a cleaner society in which not only will venereal disease be under control, but in which the grosser evidences of social maladjustment which center about sex will be done away with.

Tuberculosis

Next in importance to the venereal diseases, and almost equally social both in causation and in treatment, comes tuberculosis. The social worker is always on the lookout for "T.B.," more so perhaps than the physician. The figures previously given show not only that this disease is an important factor in the death-rate, but also that it ranks high among the disabling diseases. To the layman it is one of the most dreaded of all diseases, although this dread is in part, at least, due to the amount of publicity which it has received in the persistent warfare against it during the last thirty-five years. In this way it contrasts with the venereal diseases, about which little was known until recently, and around which there still hangs a curtain of secrecy.

Another aspect of tuberculosis which makes it especially terrible is that it attacks people who are in the prime of life; its most numerous victims are in early manhood or womanhood. Its treatment, too, takes time and money, and unfortunately it is primarily a disease of poverty.

Extent of Tuberculosis.—In 1900 the death-rate from tuberculosis was approximately 200 per 100,000, and even at present the death-rate in the United States, is approximately 100. While this is a great improvement, it still shows a lamentable condition. On the assumption that about 10 per cent of all deaths are due to tuberculosis, of the over twenty-one million children now in the public schools of the United States over two million will die of this disease. Moore states that medical science has shown that:

"Children, beginning very early in life, are attacked by tuberculosis bacilli and develop one or more lesions, usually in the lungs, which soon become walled off; when the age of twenty-one is reached virtually all persons have become so affected. Fortunately, in most cases the disease progresses no further; in fact the small walled off lesion brings about in most persons an effective degree of immunity. Not infrequently, however, tuberculosis in one

form or another assumes an active stage among little children; and among adults when conditions are unfavorable, the disease progresses and causes the high mortality indicated. . . . Tuberculosis is the great white plague." [16]

In other words there is much latent tuberculosis in the community waiting for conditions which may bring about the disease in an active stage.

Economic Basis of Tuberculosis.—While most diseases are to a very considerable extent influenced by economic conditions, tuberculosis is preëminently a disease of poverty. The death-rates are much lower among the well-to-do than among the poor, and also among agricultural laborers than among factory operatives. Studies have been made of the incidence of tuberculosis in over-crowded tenement districts in comparison with other districts in which the housing was relatively good, and they seem to show a very definite connection between bad housing and tuberculosis. Koch's discovery of the tuberculosis bacillus demonstrated that it was generally carried in the sputum from person to person; consequently, there is much danger in over-crowded places, either in factories or in homes, and in places where there is insufficient sunlight and fresh air. The sunlight kills the bacillus, while the fresh air is of benefit to the individual. The battle against dark rooms and over-crowding in tenements has largely been conducted as an aid in the battle against "TB." Improper food, overwork and worry, are also factors in changing the latent disease into an active one, and conversely good food, rest, and freedom from care are the recommended forms of treatment.

The Tuberculin Test.—There is also a general agreement, though with some outstanding objectors, that milk from tuberculous cattle is a causative factor, and here again the economic element comes in, as well as a political one. The more advanced states require tuberculin tests of all cattle at frequent intervals and the destruction of infected herds. This is opposed by many farmers, and there is always an attempt to evade the law. Another way of preventing possible infection is the pasteurizing of milk; this, too, is expensive and moreover it is said to destroy some of the health-giving attributes which the raw milk possesses.

The War Against TB.—Physicians have been treating tuberculosis for years, but it was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century that any recognition was given to the infectious nature of the disease, or to the community and social responsibility for its spread. It used to be thought that tuberculosis was hereditary, and the minute a member of a family in which the disease had been common was stricken, he was given up for dead. With the discovery of the bacil-

[16] Moore, op. cit., pp. 89–90.

lus and almost coincidently with the discovery by Dr. Edward L. Trudeau, first in his own case and later in that of others, of the value of outdoor living and proper food habits, there was started a constructive effort to combat the inroads of the disease. In the United States the most important organization is the National Tuberculosis Association, which has branches in almost every city and in many rural communities. This organization leads in campaigns for tuberculosis sanatoria, for special "TB" nurses, for open-air schools for weak children, and in recent years particularly, in health education in the public schools. That such efforts have been successful in preventing much tuberculosis, there is not a shadow of doubt, although there are those who maintain that the rate of tuberculosis was falling off anyway and would have continued to fall off without the organized campaign. They base their contention on the fact that since 1860—this before Koch's discovery and the organized anti-tuberculosis campaigns—there has been a rapid falling-off that showed only a small acceleration since the organized efforts and the increased knowledge. There seems to be some ground for belief that Americans were gradually becoming immune to the bacillus, and this immunity would account for the decreasing rate. It is also suggested that on the whole the economic conditions of the poorer classes in America have been improving and that this would of itself cut down the amount of tuberculosis without any other effort. At the same time it must be borne in mind that medical diagnosis is far more accurate than it was formerly, so that many more cases relatively are reported; also that increased industrialism and urbanization naturally would have increased the amount of infection; hence without the preventive measures the prevalence of the disease might have been far greater than it is.

Whatever the facts on this point, it seems eminently desirable that the present efforts against this dread disease continue. More and more they tend to approach the field of general health education. They deal with such fundamental social-economic problems as standards of living, housing, sanitary working conditions, etc., which cannot help but redound to the health and happiness of the entire community, even if tuberculosis did not need to be checked. Another contribution which they make is to produce a more optimistic attitude toward the disease. The victim no longer feels at once that he is lost. Many thousands have had the disease and are now recovered, leading happy, useful lives, and the organized anti-tuberculosis movement does much to spread the knowledge of this fact.

TB. and the Community.—In contrast with venereal disease, the community has come to recognize its responsibility for tuberculosis to a very large degree. Sanatoria have been erected out of public funds, the milk supply and the housing question have been investigated

and regulated, and health education has been undertaken on a large scale. There is still much to do in many places, but on the whole much necessary adjustment has been made.

Not yet to any large extent has the community recognized its still more fundamental responsibility for the underlying economic causes that occasion the disease in the first place. It is still difficult to convince manufacturers that improper working conditions, over-long hours, and unsanitary surroundings are responsible for the sums he has to pay for the care of the ill. That is where the next adjustment must be made, and it is likely to come about, as it is already being started, through two forces; first, the labor unions, and second, legislative pressure. On the whole the labor unions simply need education, and it is education too that the public needs to demand the required legislation. Indeed, such laws are on the statute books of many states, some of them enforced, although far too many simply enacted. The anti-tuberculosis committees can do much good in encouraging the enforcement of such laws as exist, and from time to time the enactment of additional legislation.

Migratory Tuberculosis.—One of the difficulties which the tuberculosis worker has always encountered has been the belief on the part of the patient that he can be cured more quickly in some climate other than his own. In this country, Colorado and the Rocky Mountain states have been the Mecca for many a victim of the white plague. These unfortunates, generally with depleted funds and unlimited faith, have sold their possessions and regardless of the advice of physicians have set off for the West, or, if their resources were more limited, for nearer health centers. On arriving, they have constituted a burden on the community into which they came, and as a matter of fact have rarely received any benefit. The best tuberculosis specialists today are united in feeling that it is not necessary to seek out any particular climate for the treatment of the disease. The advent of the cheap automobile has to some extent increased the number of these health-seekers, without aiding them in their search. As a matter of fact they are worse off and they spread infection as they travel. Reputable social agencies refuse assistance to such people and every effort is used to make them see that they can be treated at home better and less expensively.

The Sanatorium and After.—Many cases of tuberculosis can be successfully treated in a family home, and with reasonable care there is little or no danger to the other members of the family. This is especially true where there is plenty of room, and where ordinarily hygienic habits are in use. On the other hand, in certain types of cases in any home and in the majority of cases in crowded tenements, or among people unwilling or unable to follow the medical advice im-

plicitly, sanatorium treatment is desirable. It is most difficult with the very classes who require this treatment most to make them see the need for it. It means no work and no income and it also means a separation from ordinary home and neighborhood ties. That was particularly the case when sanatoria were located long distances from cities, as used to be customary, but it is still a problem, especially with the foreigner.

The sanatorium itself presents special social problems. In many such institutions there is no opportunity for employment for those able to work part time, and the monotony and lack of interest cause discouragement. In the better type of institutions recreational and social work is developed to a high degree, but far too many still do nothing in this direction.

The invalids who refuse to accept sanatorium care constitute a serious problem. Only a few states have compulsory commitment and there is no way of making an impatient invalid stay until really cured. Consequently many cases go and come at will, and receive little good. For the better protection of the community, it would be advisable to have legislation making sanatorium treatment compulsory under certain conditions, and giving the physicians the authority to keep patients in the sanatorium as long as they are a danger to other members of their family or the community. This invasion of individual rights is of course taken for granted in the case of the insane, or of people suffering from certain contagious diseases, neither more contagious nor more serious than tuberculosis.

The final problem is the restoration of the cured or arrested case to the community. When a patient is discharged as cured it is often very difficult for him to get work, especially such work as he is strong enough to undertake at once. In many cases he cannot go back to his old employment because of the nature of the work. Definite efforts should be made by social workers, preferably attached to the sanatorium, to see that the right sort of employment is found. Some charitable agencies have inaugurated workshops where conditions are sanitary and where arrangements are made as to hours and working conditions so that ex-patients can be profitably and healthfully employed. The Jewish Federation in New York conducts one such workshop with notable success. Every community should have organized as part of its social welfare activities some group which answers the question "After the sanatorium—What?"

Conclusion.—The success of the campaign against tuberculosis is a heartening achievement. The goal often seems far distant, but in the last quarter-century some notable victories have been won in the struggle against ignorance and disease,—in part by the self-sacrificing toil of the scientists who have discovered causes and developed methods of treatment, and in part by the equally devoted efforts of

social workers, who have ascertained the social cost and causes of this dread disease, and have in large degree brought to the public the discoveries of science for curing it.

Other Diseases

Smallpox.—Smallpox was the great enemy of mankind in the days of our great-grandfathers. As late as the middle of the eighteenth century an English physician said that it was "the terror and destroyer of the great part of mankind," and that scarcely one in a thousand escaped it. Thanks to the discoveries of Edward Jenner, civilized society no longer fears smallpox; possibly we fear it less than we ought. Vaccination, or inoculation with virus from cows who have had a similar disease known as "cowpox," has created relative immunity for the greater part of mankind. The only problem in regard to smallpox is the carelessness of most people in regard to vaccination, which frequently makes it necessary to impose vaccination by law, and the misguided attempts of some ignorant theorists in combating vaccination. Vaccination is commonly enforced as a preliminary to admission to school, and campaigns against compulsory vaccination have usually been directed against this law. Christian Scientists, antivivisectionists, and medical faddists and extremists of various kinds have led these campaigns, on the whole without success. As a matter of fact the principal, indeed the only necessary social defense against smallpox is vaccination. Without it we should return to the days of our grandfathers when only one out of a thousand escaped the disease, with its suffering, mortality, and disfigurement; with it the amount of smallpox in modern society is infinitesimal.

Yellow Fever.—Yellow fever is fortunately almost entirely eradicated in the United States; the eradication, however, was brought about so recently and in such a striking way that it is worth a paragraph. Up to 1900 this disease visited parts of the United States frequently, and was endemic in the West Indies. Through painstaking researches of several physicians, particularly of Dr. Walter Reed of the Army Medical Corps, it was found to be due to the bite of a particular type of mosquito, which had acquired the germ through biting an active case. Consequently a double campaign was adopted, first to keep both sick and well from being bitten by mosquitos, and second to destroy the mosquito and its breeding places. As a result, yellow fever has been practically eliminated not only in the United States, but even in such former plague spots as Cuba and the Canal Zone.

Typhoid Fever.—Typhoid has no such spectacular history as "yellow jack," but it also is one of the diseases that science has learned to con-

trol. It was discovered through careful coöperative researches in many countries that the cause of typhoid was the contamination of milk or water by the infected excreta of typhoid patients. As a result of this discovery progressive communities at once set about ridding themselves of typhoid by securing an adequate sewage disposal plant, a pure water supply, and a clean or pasteurized milk supply. There is no excuse for any community to have what doctors call a "high typhoid index." In addition to the measures mentioned above, a careful examination of convalescents to prevent the contagion of the community through "carriers" is important, and also campaigns for the eradication of flies; and travelers into countries which do not take such precautions should receive typhoid vaccination. Sanitation is the enemy of typhoid, and all that sanitation demands is reasonable intelligence and the willingness of the community to encourage and to obey the health officers.

An even more dread disease of the East, which has occasionally found a foothold in the West, is Asiatic cholera. This is spread in a manner similar to typhoid, and the war against it is waged in the same way—mainly by sanitary engineers.

The Plague.—Another eastern disease which from time to time has assumed world-wide proportions is the bubonic plague—or as it is known in history, the "Black Death." This horrible disease has been shown recently to be caused by the bite of a flea whose host is the rat or ground squirrel. The plague is always lurking in eastern seaports, but quarantines adopted in the western countries, protective measures against rats from ships, and campaigns for rat destruction, have largely removed the danger of future plagues in this part of the world. Eastern Europe and Asia are less fortunate, and at the present time such international organizations as the League of Nations are much concerned in the effort to make world-wide the offensive campaign against flea-carrying rats.

Typhus.—Similar to the plague in many respects is typhus fever, which is transmitted by the body louse. The control of this disease demands the eradication of the louse, and that again is largely a question of cleanliness. Western Europe and America are practically free from typhus, although occasionally it is brought by immigrants from eastern Europe, and during the World War it crossed into Germany from Russia. Here again it is the sanitarian, building on the researches of the scientist, and relying on the coöperation of the public, who must wage the warfare.

Children's Diseases

Until very recently even physicians did not pay very much attention to the so-called "children's diseases." It was commonly assumed

that it was best in the long run for all children to be exposed and get them over with as soon as possible.

Infants' Diseases.—This attitude did not apply so much to the diseases of infancy but rather to the contagious diseases of later childhood. The infantile diseases are exceedingly common and are responsible for the heavy death-rate in the first year of life. They are either of the intestines and stomach, or of the respiratory organs. The former are usually connected with improper and unsanitary feeding. Infant hygiene clinics and campaigns for breast-feeding and clean milk have done much to improve infants' feeding, but there still remains much to be done, particularly in connection with a sanitary milk supply. The respiratory diseases yield easily to sanitary measures and consequently are harder to control. Trips into the country for mothers and babies may be effective, and instruction in feeding, bathing and clothing infants is of some value.

Diphtheria.—For centuries one of the most serious enemies of children has been diphtheria, or as it is sometimes called "membranous croup." Here bacteriology has been of spectacular help. The particular bacillus was discovered in 1883 and it was later found that immunity might be ascertained by a process known as the Schick Test. Most important of all, an antitoxin was discovered which, if used early in the disease, will nearly always insure recovery and prevent acute suffering. The popularization of the antitoxin treatment has been one of the great steps forward in medicine in the present century, and has resulted in a marked drop in the death-rate from diphtheria. Where trained physicians and an adequate supply of antitoxin are available, diphtheria need no longer be greatly feared. The use of toxin-antitoxin combined with the Schick Test shows those who are liable to the disease, and if they can be inoculated with the toxin it may be prevented. The steps needed to get diphtheria under complete control are: first, an adequate supply of antitoxin everywhere; second, general use of the Schick Test, particularly in the public schools; and third, public recognition of the importance of immediate application to a physician in cases of acute sore-throat.

Scarlet Fever, Measles, and Whooping Cough.—Scarlet fever, measles, and whooping cough are still among the unconquered enemies of mankind and particularly of childhood. All three are exceedingly dangerous, not only during the period of the disease itself, but on account of the poisons which they leave behind them. Hence the importance of quarantine, at least till we know something more about the causes of these diseases and the methods by which they spread. All of them are known to be transmitted during the sneezing and coughing period; hence the importance of careful elimination of coughing and sneezing children from the public schools—even though

they may have nothing worse than a common cold—and the education of the general public as to the dangers of promiscuous coughing and sneezing.

Child Health Agencies.—In recent years several national health organizations and the Federal Children's Bureau have made child health a major public issue in the United States. The most important governmental step has been the extension of national aid to local maternal and infant hygiene work by the Shepard-Towner Bill of 1921. This provides considerable financial assistance to states, which themselves are doing work of a grade and quantity to warrant federal encouragement. The principle behind this legislation is the same as that by which the national government appropriates money for highways. The Federal Children's Bureau and the Public Health Service have made many significant studies of child health; and the American Child Health Organization, a nation-wide private agency, issues publications, furnishes propaganda material, and gives advice as to the formation of local child-health committees, and so forth. Generally speaking, however, the important steps in any child health program must be taken by the local communities, city or county, through their Boards of Health, on the one hand, and through private physicians and social agencies, on the other. In many communities the public schools can play a most important part in child hygiene, and state boards of health and county extension services connected with the Department of Agriculture, particularly in its Women's Department, can assist by furnishing specialists and spreading intelligent propaganda.

CANCER, HEART AND KIDNEY DISEASES

The diseases which have just been discussed are primarily, although not exclusively, those of childhood; these under consideration here almost without exception attack adults, generally those past their prime. There are cases where both kidneys and heart are affected in childhood, particularly after attacks of scarlet fever, but these are comparatively rare, and frequently even where the diseased condition exists it remains unknown until later life. The diseases which affect these two vital organs are closely related medically; a weakness of one will frequently lead to a unhealthy condition of the other. Little is known about the causes of kidney disease, and not much about the causes of heart disorders. Syphilis, however, very frequently attacks both heart and kidneys; and various infectious disorders, such as scarlet fever, influenza, and diphtheria, are frequently followed by heart or kidney troubles. Local infections, such

as those of the teeth or tonsils, which may lead to rheumatism, are often followed by cardiac difficulties also. For prevention of these diseases the proper care of the teeth and tonsils, and especially the keeping of patients in bed throughout convalescence, is a most important step, and one in which the attitude of the general public is quite as important as that of the medical profession. Both heart and kidney disorders require the most careful medical attention, hence the importance of early recognition. For this purpose frequent periodic examinations of persons past middle life are especially desirable. With kidney disorders much can be done by attention to personal hygiene.

One of the best ways of preventing serious difficulties following heart diseases is through vocational guidance. As a part of the placement régime in many cities, children are obliged to pass a thorough physical examination. In New York City in 1920, for example, of the 51,000 children who appeared for working papers, 813 or 1.57 per cent had a cardiac defect which prevented them from engaging in occupations which would put a serious strain on the heart.[17] If such examinations were made matters of routine before working papers were granted, much heart trouble which later will become serious would be recognized in time for treatment, and in any event care could be taken that the weakened organ would not be overstrained. Frequent rest periods in industries which necessarily put a great strain on the heart would also be a valuable social measure.

Cancer is one of the most serious problems confronting medical science. It is on the increase in America, and is responsible for one out of ten deaths after the age of forty. The cause is not yet known, although there is reason to hope that it will be found in the near future. With cause unknown, prevention is difficult, although it can be treated and *cured* if an early diagnosis is made. Cancer begins with sores, lumps or some sort of local growth, and if such a growth is properly diagnosed in its early stages it usually can be safely and easily removed. Moore says:

> "Continued indigestion among those in middle life, with loss of weight and change of color, may indicate cancer of some internal organ and should be investigated. Procrastination is often fatal." [18]

It is most important that the public should realize the necessity of immediate consultation with a physician in any case of possible cancer. At present there are two steps to be taken; one by the medical profession, which could be financially assisted by the public,

[17] L. I. Harris, *Cardiac Diseases in Adolescents and Preventive Measures Effective*, Bull. Dept. Health—New York, March 1922, No. 3, p. 54.

[18] Moore, op. cit., pp. 120–121.

to investigate the disease and if possible find its cause; and the second by the public, to urge on everyone who has any of the symptoms the securing of competent medical advice *early*.

COMMON COLDS, ASTHMA, INFLUENZA, PNEUMONIA

The above diseases may be grouped together, not only because they all are infections of the respiratory tract, but also because in most cases all show themselves first as "common colds," with the ordinary symptoms of coughing, nose-blowing, headache, etc., etc. In fact there are health experts who place the *common cold* as *first among the enemies of mankind,* because it prepares the way for so many other serious infections. But this is not the only reason that a cold should be dreaded. In our climate it is the most widespread of any infection. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's examination of 16,000 policy holders showed that nearly 18 per cent suffered from frequent colds.[19] Among school children and industrial workers a very large percentage of lost time and no one knows how much discomfort and inefficiency are due to colds. A total estimate of the effects of the common cold, both as the advance guard of more serious infections such as influenza and pneumonia, and on its own account, has never been made. Unquestionably if the cold were controlled the morbidity and mortality rates for both tuberculosis and pneumonia would fall immediately. Little is known as to the cause of colds, except that most colds are infectious and spread from one victim to another. Coughing and spitting are dangerous. The writer is convinced that in the long run it would pay to quarantine people with colds. There is no question that colds spread through class-rooms and factories as well as movie-houses to the detriment of the entire group. In general there is little danger from colds out-of-doors, and outdoor living helps to prevent infection. There is great need for more research into the causes of colds and particularly more serious attention to them on the part of both physicians and laymen.

Influenza.—Influenza and pneumonia have much in common; indeed to the layman it sometimes seems as though one were only a worse form of the other. For example, Rosenau claims that influenza itself never kills and that all deaths accredited to it are really due to pneumonia.[20] Influenza is one of the more common infections and in recent winters has been more or less prevalent almost everywhere. Beside the ordinary incidence of the disease, from time to time it becomes pandemic, sweeping over the entire world and attacking peo-

[19] Statistical Bulletin—Metropolitan Life Insurance Company., Vol. III—No. 10, p. 8.
[20] Rosenau, M. J., *Preventive Medicine and Hygiene,* New York, 1921, p. 240.

ple of all ages. There have been fourteen world-wide epidemics of influenza since 1510, and it has been epidemic in North America at least eighteen times.[21] During these epidemics the percentage of the population attacked by the disease is terrifically high. In the last great "flu" epidemic of 1918–19 the U. S. Public Health Service estimates that 28 per cent of the population or approximately thirty million people were affected. This disease is particularly bad because it is so often followed by fatal pneumonia, and it frequently leaves lasting effects on heart and kidneys. It would appear, also, that there are profound and far-reaching physical and mental effects of influenza which have not yet been entirely analyzed. Utter physical exhaustion and mental depression from which the patient is very slow to recover are very frequent sequelae. Since to date the particular organism which causes influenza is unknown, little can be done for prevention, except such general precautions as isolation of persons infected with what seem to be colds. Influenza, like colds, calls for thorough research. Vaccine have been used against this disease but with no satisfactory results as yet, and such measures as closing schools, wearing face masks, etc., are of questionable value in the face of an epidemic. A concerted attack on colds might do more good than any other one thing.

Pneumonia.—Pneumonia, it will be remembered, is one of the most important causes of death, showing in the registration area of the United States for 1920, a contribution to the mortality of 10.5 per cent. If to this were added the 5.4 per cent accredited to influenza, it would be the leading cause of death in this country. The figures for 1920 are abnormally high, but unquestionably pneumonia and influenza together are among the great destroyers of human life. Pneumonia ordinarily sets in after the system has been depleted through colds, influenza, or an operation; the progress of the disease is very rapid and the percentage of mortality high. Pneumonia appears to be prevalent in over-crowded tenements, and measures taken against it would include improved housing conditions and a raised standard of living. Fatigue is also said by some to be a frequent predisposing factor. With pneumonia, as with other diseases that are transmitted through discharges from the nose and throat, isolation is important. Pneumonia should be made a reportable disease everywhere, and in all probability strict quarantine should be maintained, with burning of everything that might contain infection. Until more is known about the disease that is about all that can be done.

Hay Fever and Asthma.—Hay fever and asthma, which are also infections of the mucuous membrane of the nose and throat, are largely, if not entirely, due to irritation caused by pollen of certain plants

[21] Moore, op. cit., p. 138.

or some similar substance. The approved method of treatment is the discovery through experimentation of the particular substance at fault and the repeated injection of extracts of it subcutaneously. Such treatment brings relief, but it has to be repeated each season. Even temporary relief, however, is a great boon to the many sufferers from these afflictions.

Hookworm, Malaria, Pellagra, and Dengue

These diseases are found chiefly in the warmer parts of the country, and all of them except pellagra are transmitted through parasitic infection.

Hookworm.—Hookworm is prevalent in tropical and sub-tropical climates throughout the world; Egypt, China, and Africa, all show a very heavy incidence of infection. In the New World it has been particularly common in the West Indies, especially Porto Rico, (where a U. S. Public Health Survey in 1904 found that 90 per cent of the rural population were infected), in South America, and in the United States south of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi. Dr. Dowling reports that of 415,000 children examined between 1910 and 1913, from 413 counties in the South, over 43 per cent were infected.[22] The disease is caused by the action of a worm which enters the body generally by piercing the skin, usually of the sole of the foot, though it occasionally enters at other places or with impure water or contaminated food. This worm feeds upon the patient, and frequently brings about his death. In any event it lowers his vitality and resistance. The lackadaisical manner and deficient vitality which have come to be regarded as typical of the southern "poor white," especially of the type known as "clay eaters," may be very largely due to the fact that most of these people act as hosts to innumerable worms. Since the hookworm develops from eggs which come in the excrement of infected individuals, the method of prevention is plain. For eradication of the disease, two measures are needed:

(1) the provision of sanitary privies and their enforced use,

(2) the use of thick soled shoes.

The second is in fact unnecessary if the first is always observed; but it is a desirable precaution in infected areas. When both steps are taken the amount of hookworm falls off like magic.

Treatments for the afflicted are also available. Public health agencies, the Rockefeller Foundation in particular, have given considerable attention to the cure as well as to the prevention of hookworm in the southern states, and as a result the incidence of the

[22] Dowling, Oscar, *Sociological Aspects of Hookworm Disease*, American Journal of Public Health, Vol. X, p. 595.

disease among school children in twelve counties in the South has fallen from 60 per cent to less than 22 per cent.[23] The campaign to accomplish this consisted of social education as to the amount and seriousness of the disease and its causes, and of sanitation to prevent soil pollution. The conquest of hookworm is a real triumph of human intelligence over disease.

Malaria.—Malaria, another parasitic disease, also especially prevalent in the southern states, is fairly common in the north also, particularly in the rural areas. Indeed the fact that the South is much more largely rural than the North may explain the difference in the incidence of the disease. Rosenau estimates at least one million cases a year for the United States. With its alternating chills and fever, malaria causes considerable suffering besides lowering the general vitality and energy to a marked degree and bringing on a run-down condition. The mortality, while not high proportionately to the cases, is still a considerable factor in general mortality because of the frequency of the disease, and it undoubtedly predisposes to other more virulent infections. The malaria parasite, like that of yellow fever, is carried by the mosquito, and the best way to prevent the disease is to get rid of the mosquito. This implies a draining or filling up of pools, swamps, and stagnant ditches, or placing oil over them to kill the mosquito larvæ. A second step is the complete screening of houses and beds so that infected mosquitoes have less opportunity to attack people. A third necessity is the treatment of the ill individuals until they are entirely cured, and their rigorous protection from mosquitoes. These methods followed even in limited degrees have done marvels in reducing the occurrence of malaria. They cost money and take time, but the suffering which they prevent would cost far more.

Dengue.—Dengue, or as it is sometimes known "breakbone fever," is a disease very similar to yellow fever, though rarely fatal. It also is caused by a mosquito carrier, and the steps to be taken against it are similar to those to be taken against malaria. It is a southern disease, which from time to time becomes epidemic through the whole southeastern section of the United States.

Pellagra.—Pellagra is a malady of the digestive tract and commonly becomes noticeable through a rash on the skin. It is frequently associated with peculiar nervous difficulties and sometimes leads to insanity, and in about ten per cent of all cases to death.[24] It is common in southern Europe, where it has been studied for many years, and in many sections it is well under control. The United States Public Health Service did not take up the problem until 1908,

[23] See Rockefeller Foundation, Annual Report 1920, pp. 112–113.
[24] Goldberger J., *Pellagra*, p. 230.

when it was estimated that there were between 25,000 and 50,000 cases in the country. The number apparently increased until 1917 and after that fell off until the economic depression of 1920, when it again increased, but not to the figure of 1917.[25] The disease is due to faulty diet, probably deficiency in protein. The campaign against it has consisted of education as to adequate diet through schools, mothers' clubs, etc., and treatment of the afflicted through hospitals established by the Federal Government. The diet question is, of course, intimately connected with economic prosperity, and especially in the southern cotton mill towns with employment of women. Where entire families work in the factories, as is generally the case in these towns, there is no one to take charge of cooking vegetables and meats properly, even if there is enough money to buy them. Although the exact chemical, the absence of which causes pellagra, has not yet been discovered, it is known that eggs, milk, and lean flesh foods are very important in preventing the disease. Milk is very expensive in the South and not generally used as much as in the North. The entire question of pellagra is tied up with the "family" employment plans of the southern cotton mill villages, and a socialized study of these "cotton baronies" is necessary, along with the medical efforts to eradicate this serious disease.

Diabetes is due to a defect in metabolism, and is primarily a disease of old age, although young persons occasionally have it. A very considerable number of people in the United States are diabetics; estimates vary all the way from 100,000 to 1,000,000. Until the last year or two, the death-rate from diabetes has risen, in contrast with the general death-rate. In 1922, however, Dr. Banting of Toronto discovered a substance called "insulin," derived from the pancreas of animals, which has had marvelous results in the treatment of diabetes. In fact it may be said that diabetes is now one of the conquered diseases.

Goitre is a fairly common disease; in Cleveland 80 per cent of girls ten years old and over were found to be affected, unless they had already received treatment.[26] The ordinary type of goitre may be prevented, and cured if not too far advanced, by a harmless drug treatment. The desideratum here is to detect the goitre early and then to secure treatment. For this purpose periodical examination of school children is eminently desirable. Another type of goitre, known as hyperthyroidism, is more serious and requires a different type of treatment.

Cerebrospinal meningitis is a disease which needs prompt diagnosis. It used to be considered fatal, but recently a serum has been

[25] Moore, op. cit., p. 137.
[26] Cleveland Hospital and Health Survey, Part III, p. 291.

discovered which if promptly used is most effective. So far as is known at present, there is no way by which the disease can be prevented, but the more general use of the serum will do much to reduce the mortality. This serum should be readily available in order to prevent epidemics of the disease, which seems particularly to attack children and soldiers.

Industrial Diseases

The Industrial Revolution which made over our entire social life has not left the field of disease and health untouched. Aside from its general effects in increasing the incidence of such diseases as tuberculosis through improper housing and working conditions, and in augmenting the danger of epidemics through increased rapidity of transit, it has had certain very definite pathologic effects.

Lead Poisoning.—Of these one of the most serious is lead poisoning. Lead is one of the most common metallic ingredients in many industrial processes; it is used in the manufacture of paint, rubber, storage batteries, pottery and earthenware, and derivatives of it are in common use in other industries. Recently a lead derivative has been placed in gasoline with the idea of reducing carbonization, and it is asserted that the manufacture and handling of this gasoline-lead compound has had particularly injurious effects, perhaps leading to insanity and death. The use of this compound is now a matter of controversy between the refiners and some public health authorities. In most industries the lead comes to the workers either as dust or as fumes. The results may be either acute lead poisoning with serious illness, or chronic poisoning which is not noticed, but which leads to many serious forms of disease such as indigestion, hardening of the arteries, paralysis, anemia, and a lowered resistance to infection. Lead poisoning is also one of the most common causes of sterility and of death of the fœtus. In England, workers are better protected by legislation than in America and the result is a death-rate eight to ten times lower. Pottery workers are especially liable to lead poisoning, so much so that the United States Public Health Service has issued a comprehensive report on "Lead Poisoning in the Pottery Trade." This report, in common with all educational literature in regard to lead poison, emphasizes two types of measures, (1) the elimination of dust and the removal of fumes, and (2) personal cleanliness. The first devolves on the manufacturer and can be enforced by legislation; the second is almost entirely a matter of education. Certain industries where the lead is in powdered form require the wearing of respirators; this, too, can be made a legal requirement. On the whole

the dangers of lead in industry are being recognized, and the task before every socially-minded employer and public-spirited citizen is to see that so far as possible lead shall be removed from industry, and where that is not possible, that every precaution be taken to prevent infection. Factory legislation should cover protection from lead, and inspectors should be most careful to see that the laws are enforced.

Dust and Moisture.—There is considerable controversy over the effect of dusts in various industries, particularly in sawmills and in the textile industry. In both of these industries the flying dust which gets into the nose and throat is said to be damaging. There is no question at all that hard dusts such as those from granite and marble are harmful. In all such cases proper blower systems can do much to remove the dust from the atmosphere.

A bad feature of textile mills is the heat and moisture which weaving demands. In many mills there is an almost constant temperature of 80 degrees, and the change to the outside cold air in winter is conducive to bronchial and lung troubles. Workers should be urged to put on sufficient wraps, and locker-rooms should be provided with a temperature intermediate between that of the mill and the outside air.

Other Industrial Poisons.—Benzol, a chemical used in the manufacture of rubber, varnish, paint removers, etc., also produces a very considerable number of cases of industrial poisoning; and phosphorus, arsenic, mercury, etc., which are all used in industrial processes, are dangerous unless due precautions are taken.

Industrial Insurance.—Industrial insurance against accident to employees has become almost universally compulsory throughout the United States and Western Europe. Such insurance, however, only in a few cases covers industrial disease. One reason for this is the contention on the part of the employer that most industrial disease is due to carelessness of the workers. Although this is probably true, it is equally true of industrial accident. In the latter case public opinion has become practically unanimous in placing the burden on the employer who is responsible for the risk undertaken, and who in the long run is better able to bear the financial burden. The question of liability was one of the most difficult which the courts had to consider, and it was finally decided that a blanket responsibility on the employer was the fairest method. One of the most interesting developments of compulsory accident insurance has been a marvelous reduction in industrial accidents, and the general adoption of safety devices. What has happened is that the employers have as far as possible made their machinery "fool-proof." The same procedure should be followed with the industrial diseases. Employers should be liable for all genuine industrial diseases which affect their em-

ployees. Then, and probably not till then, will there be a careful study of industrial diseases and of the methods by which infection can be avoided.

Fatigue.—Regarding fatigue, particularly industrial fatigue, there has also been much controversy. One group of scientists claims that experiments both with men and animals prove that fatigue predisposes to infection, while another maintains that the situation is reversed and that fatigue itself is a sign of approaching illness. On the whole, however, the larger number agree that fatigue lessens resistance, and consequently predisposes to minor ailments in much the same way as minor ailments themselves predispose to major illnesses. There is no question that fatigue impairs efficiency and lowers performance, and in some occupations (for example, among railway employees, chauffeurs, etc.) is dangerous to the public. Fatigue has been recognized as a health menace and in many countries and states laws have been passed limiting the hours of labor in certain industries. There is at present an International Committee on Industrial Fatigue; more scientific studies of fatigue on different industries and in different countries are urgently needed. In the meantime the assumption that undue fatigue is dangerous to public health seems a sound basis for action.

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CHAPTER X

THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Among all races of mankind, even the most primitive, three groups, —the blind, the deaf, and the crippled,—have always been recognized as dependent. They have little in common except their common need, but in the public mind they long constituted the main body of the socially maladjusted. One may say that these unfortunates become handicapped through disease, either acquired or hereditary, or else through accident; hence their inclusion in the section dealing with social adjustments which ill-health makes necessary.

The Blind

Of all the socially maladjusted, perhaps the blind have been the most spectacular, and have received the most consideration. Poets and novelists have delighted in portraying the sorrows and virtues of the blind. Although the resulting attitude of compassion has made it easy to secure aid for the blind, it has not led the way to an appreciation of blind people as essentially human, nor has it been conducive to constructive effort for the prevention of blindness or intelligent care of the blind.

Distribution of Blindness.—The 1920 census reports 52,500 blind persons in the United States as against 57,272 in 1910. In all probability the number for both years is somewhat in excess of that given, one writer estimating the number at 70,000 for 1910,[1] but there is little question that the number has begun to decrease, owing largely to the preventive measures which will be discussed below. There is an excess of 8,000 males over females among the blind, due almost entirely to the greater liability of the former to industrial accidents involving the eye. Blindness is particularly an infliction of old age. More than 20,000 of the 55,000 were 65 or over, and approximately 34,000 were 45 or over. Of the total number, the census reports but 4,000 as having been born blind and 3,000 as having lost their sight in infancy. Blindness is more common among colored people than among white, the ratio of blind per million of the population in 1910 being 946 for the colored and 582 for the white.[2] The more general occurrence of blindness among negroes is to be accounted for by the

[1] Best, Harry, *The Blind,* New York, p. 5.
[2] Ibid., p. 6.

greater prevalence of venereal disease, particularly gonorrhea, which is the cause of ophthalmia neonatorum, and the general lack of medical care. Indians also are particularly susceptible to trachoma, which frequently causes blindness. Blindness is more common among foreign born than among the natives, the explanation for this being the higher age of the foreign born, owing to their coming to this country as adults, and their greater liability to industrial accident. The Southeast and Southwest are the areas in the country where the amount of blindness is excessive. Trachoma is very common in certain sections of the South, and the number of negroes and Mexicans helps to raise the percentage of blindness. Vermont, which ranks highest of the northern states in the amount of blindness, is also high in the proportion of old people among its population.

Cost of Blindness.—The first and most appalling cost of blindness is to the individual. The blind man is isolated in a way that the seeing cannot realize. We have two ways of personally conveying ideas, one by the spoken word, and the other by expression of countenance. This latter method is of no value to the blind. They cannot see the smile with which one can say almost anything, nor the betraying gleam of the eye, tightening of the lip, or the involuntary furrowing of the brow. They are forever outside the appeal of the eye; their knowledge of beautiful scenes or people must always be fragmentary and second-hand. Economically, of course, the lack of sight is a tremendous handicap. Most occupations are closed, and those which are open are with rare exceptions menial routine tasks with inadequate income. Much reading matter is translated into Braille, the raised print of the blind, but for the daily paper and the magazine, the intellectual staff of life, the blind must be content with what others can give him. This lack of sight imposes much involuntary idleness and it also adds to the nervous strain of life, as the necessity of close attention and the burden on memory, which produce some of the almost phenomenal feats of the blind, are not gained without effort.

In the second place, there is the cost to the community. Naturally there is the loss consequent on the removal of a potential body of workers, but that is by no means all. The provision of special schools for blind children is estimated to cost annually more than $2,000,000 for up-keep alone, while $375,000 more is expended annually for new buildings and permanent improvements. Adding to these figures the interest on the invested capital, Best estimates the annual cost at $2,925,000 per annum. Estimating the annual cost per normal child at $35 per annum for education, he states that the excess expenditure for the blind is $2,740,000 annually.[3] In addition the various govern-

[8] Ibid., pp. 92–93.

mental units and private charitable organizations expend more than $3,000,000 for the blind in pensions, special home teachers, libraries, industrial establishments, etc. Besides these direct expenditures, there are estimated to be at least 41,000 blind persons who must be supported either by relatives or private charity at an estimated annual cost of $250 each. This adds another $10,000,000 to the cost of blindness. Further, Best estimates the loss in potential earnings at approximately fourteen and a half million dollars. Adding to that the amount spent for the support and education of the blind, one may say that in round numbers blindness costs the United States nearly thirty-one million dollars each year.[4]

Causes of Blindness.—Blindness is not in itself a disease, but it is a condition which is due either to disease or to accident. Careful studies have been made of the causes of blindness, but the various investigators have used such different terms that many of the estimates seem little short of guesses. The Census Bureau report on blindness furnishes the most accurate data we have in the United States, and at least one-fourth of the causes it lists are either indefinite or inaccurate. Among these were congenital (meaning simply from birth), sore eyes, headache, etc. Of those blinded from birth the most common cause is ophthalmia neonatorum, which is due to a gonorrheal condition of the mother which infects the child's eyes at birth.

Of blindness occurring after birth, accidental injury is the most common cause from the first to the fifty-fourth year, while after the fifty-fourth year specific eye diseases such as cataract and atrophy of the optic nerve are more important. The difficulty in ascertaining the cause of blindness is that secondary rather than primary causes have been listed. It is felt among physicians that certain infections such as syphilis and gonorrhea, measles, scarlet fever, etc., are in many cases the underlying causative factors; consequently the best way to reduce the amount of blindness is to reduce these infections and to take proper care of those infected. Some writers assert that blindness is itself a hereditary condition, and substantiate this statement by the relatively large percentage of the blind who are related. Since blindness, however, is due to so many different causes, it seems very doubtful that heredity is in any way responsible for the condition, although there may be certain underlying conditions tending to blindness or weak eyes which are inherited. It is far more likely that the prevalence of blindness in families is due to carelessness and contagion, and especially to venereal infection.

Prevention of Blindness.—Since blindness is due to widely different causes, a variety of measures must be used, and since much blindness

[4] Ibid., pp. 93–6.

is to be attributed to diseases already discussed, the preventive measures in such cases have already been outlined.

Treatment for Ophthalmia Neonatorum.—In the case of ophthalmia neonatorum, however, besides general measures to reduce gonorrhea, there is a specific preventive. This is neither difficult nor expensive and is almost invariably effective; it consists in the

"injection into the eyes of the infant shortly after birth of a very weak solution of silver nitrate or of certain other derivatives of the silver salts, with perhaps also a washing out with a neutral silver solution." [5]

Since gonorrhea is so prevalent and since no harm is done to the healthy child, this procedure should be universally applied; indeed in some countries and in some of our states, every physician or midwife attending a confinement is compelled to administer the nitrate, and in order that there may be no excuse Boards of Health supply the nitrate free. Such provisions should become universal, and physicians and midwives should be severely penalized who do not take the necessary precaution. Until that time, mothers and fathers should see to it that their own children are properly treated. Many states which do not require treatment, do require notification of cases of eye trouble in new-born infants and the health authorities themselves render the treatment. This is not as effective as the compulsory routine treatment, for some physicians are negligent in reporting, and in any event there is a dangerous delay. Many confinement cases are handled by untrained or imperfectly trained midwives, and if infantile blindness is to be prevented the state should carefully supervise their practice.

Factory Legislation.—A further preventive of blindness is factory legislation which would minimize the possibilities of accident and of lighting conditions which create undue eye-strain. This latter situation applies to schools and colleges as well as to factories. The comparatively recent industrial accident legislation previously referred to, which makes the employer liable for industrial accidents, has done a great deal to encourage the installation of safety devices. An extension of such laws to include cases of loss of eye-sight, due to unnecessary strain, similar to the recommended extension to cases of industrial disease, would do much to reduce blindness due to industry.

Wood Alcohol and Blindness.—Accidental blindness is also caused by certain chemicals, particularly wood alcohol. Some cases are due to the employment of these dangerous chemicals in industry. Considerable blindness is caused by wood alcohol used in beverages. This has been especially prevalent in this country since the Eighteenth

[5] Ibid., p. 163.

Amendment went into effect and it is particularly hard to cope with. There is legislation on the statue books prohibiting the use of wood alcohol, but it is hard to enforce. Probably such legislation should be made more stringent, as wood alcohol not only causes blindness but frequently kills its victims.

The Decrease of Blindness.—The organized efforts against blindness, especially the campaigns against ophthalmia neonatorum and industrial accident, have not been in operation very long. There is already reason to believe, however, that there has been a small decrease in blindness both actually and relatively, and, even more important, there is every indication that this decrease will be accelerated in the years to come. Scientific medicine and general hygiene have done much to make blindness far less prevalent in the Western countries than in the East, and as medicine and hygiene improve there is no reason to feel that this progress is to come to a standstill for some time to come, and unquestionably blindness will continue to diminish.

Institutions for the Blind.—From the early centuries of the Christian Era, the church has erected special institutions and set apart orders whose business it was to care for the blind. Such efforts, however charitable in intent, have barely scraped the surface of the problem, and some critics assert that they have simply made the blind more dependent. However, there are blind people who cannot be cared for in ordinary homes for whom some sort of institutional provision is necessary, and for these "Homes for the Blind" are still maintained. The danger in this institutional adjustment for the blind, as for other classes, is that individuals who can maintain themselves or who would be happier if cared for outside will be placed in the institution, as the easiest way out. On the whole, however, the number of institutions without any industrial department, and where the blind are simply "cared for," is decreasing, and is to a very large extent limited to the aged blind.

Industrial Work.—Institutions with workshop and industrial departments have been developed, particularly in recent years, where the blind are taught occupations by which they can earn their livelihood. Some of these institutions aim to be in the nature of schools where trades are taught and the blind then returned to their homes in the hope that the trade will make them independent. Almost all schools for the blind have industrial departments which do the same things. In other cases the blind are kept in the institution permanently; in such institutions the industrial department serves two purposes: first it helps towards their support, and secondly it provides them with something to take up their time.

Pensions.—Another way of caring for the blind takes the form of

pensions, either from the state or from private charitable agencies. These pensions are provided under the theory that the blind person is better cared for in his own home than in an institution, and also that in the long run it will not cost so much to provide for him there. There have been objections to a pension system for the blind just as to other pension systems, on the ground that it is special class legislation and also that it encourages dependence. The latter argument is strong so long as the pensions are not carefully administered with an application of the best types of the case-work method; the former argument has little validity, since if they were not cared for through pensions, most of the blind who received them would be dependent on state or local aid in some other form. There seems to be an increasing tendency in the United States toward caring for the dependent blind through pensions.

Education for the Blind.—The most hopeful methods of caring for the blind are naturally those which try so far as possible to overcome the handicap under which they labor. In a civilized society the inability to read is probably one of the greatest of all disabilities. The necessity for reading as a preliminary to all forms of education is manifest, and yet it has been less than one hundred years since the system of raised type was made available for the blind, and only for a much shorter time that the school systems of many communities have provided instruction so that practically all blind children, and a considerable percentage of blind adults, may learn to read. The difficulty with the latter is that they find it exceedingly difficult to develop the acuteness of touch which reading from raised type demands. The utilization of raised type and the increased printing of standard educational books in it has broadened the possibilities for both academic and practical instruction to an amazing extent. The most pressing need at present is a greater number of books with raised type to supply the needs of the blind who, having once learned to read, demand an ever increasing amount of reading matter.

The most effective method of meeting the problem of the blind is through education,—both the academic education just referred to, and in particular vocational education fitted to their special requirements. During the past fifty years much has been done along this line both in special schools and recently through education of adults in their own homes. This development is particularly promising, as it reaches those who, having become blind in adult life, find it difficult to start school over again. A combination of placement service with the vocational training for those who can work, and a pension system for those who are so aged or whose general physical or mental condition is such that they are unemployable, seems the best form of social adjustment for the adult blind.

On the whole both the state and private charity have recognized the obligation to the blind. Although prevention has sometimes lagged, preventive movements under the auspices of various medical and philanthropic agencies and schools, institutions for the blind, and vocational training efforts are well supported. Although not everything is yet done in this field, society has more nearly made all necessary adjustments than in most of the other fields which will be considered.

The Deaf

The deaf and the blind have one disability in common; they are an isolated group and must perforce live in a world by themselves. Here, however, the similarity stops—even the kind of isolation is different. In some respects the factor of isolation seems on the whole to be even more complete with the deaf than with the blind. From one-half to three-quarters of the deaf marry deaf husbands or wives, a considerably larger percentage than among the blind. When with those who can hear the deaf have a constant sense of inferiority; they are likely to be distressed and perplexed since they see what is going on without knowing just what it is. With their own kind, on the other hand, the deaf are in complete sympathy; consequently they tend to become a group by themselves.

Number of Deaf.—In popular phrase the deaf are known as "deaf and dumb," although very few of the deaf are inherently "dumb" in the sense that their organs of speech are in any way affected. A very large number of the deaf, however,—almost all of those who have been deaf from birth or infancy,—do not speak because they are "unable to modulate their speech by the ear as the hearing do." Even when speech is taught them, with considerable difficulty, it has usually a very queer sound. The real defect with the deaf is in the ear, and if the trouble were rectified the number of "dumb" persons would be small indeed. It is much more scientifically correct, therefore, to use the term "deaf" than "deaf and dumb," "deaf-mute," "or mute," although many of the deaf cannot or do not speak.

The 1920 census enumerated approximately 45,000 deaf persons in the United States, using as a criterion of deafness the absence of any sense of hearing or a sense so imperfect as to be of no practical value. In 1900 there were enumerated 37,426 persons, and in 1910 43,812; an actual increase but one not much greater than the increase in general population, especially if one takes into account difference of method and personnel in the different census periods. A careful examination by Best of all statistical material available leads him

to the conclusion that deafness is not increasing relatively and that there is a distinct possibility that it may be on the decrease.[6]

Causes of Deafness.—The deaf, like the blind, can be divided into two classes, those who are deaf at birth, and those who become deaf through accident or disease occurring after birth. The proportions among the two groups are quite different, however; while but 8 per cent of the blind are congenitally so, the figure rises to 39 per cent among the deaf.

Of the three-fifths of the deaf who are in the adventitious class—those who become deaf through disease or accident—almost all are the victims of disease. It is estimated that accident accounts for less than 2 per cent of the cases of deafness. Here again there is a sharp contrast with the blind or the crippled. The ear is so well protected that accidental injury of any kind rarely affects it. The diseases to be considered may be either of the ear itself or some general type of infection which ultimately affects the ear. More cases come under the second class,—it is the so-called "children's diseases" which do the greatest damage; hence the importance of the attack on scarlet fever, to which is attributed more than 10 per cent of the cases of deafness. Meningitis, with an almost equal amount, catarrh, colds, influenza, etc., are all great causative factors. Besides every effort toward prevention it is especially important that cases of these diseases should have the most thorough medical care in order to prevent the spread of infection to the ear, and to minimize its effect if it does spread. General improvement in medical science which will make it possible to cope adequately with infectious diseases, and first-class nursing care after the onset of the disease, are essential.

Hereditary Deafness.—More study has been made of the hereditary nature of deafness than of blindness; indeed, some of the most important studies of heredity made in America have been made with the deaf, notably those by Dr. Alexander Graham Bell. About a third of all deafness is congenital, and practically all congenital deafness is apparently hereditary. In addition some deafness which develops later in life is thought to be the result of a hereditary tendency. Statistical study has given results which are briefly summarized in the following paragraph:

"In cases where the parents are not congenitally deaf and have no deaf relatives the proportion of deaf children is very low. When one or both parents are congenitally deaf or have deaf relatives . . . the likelihood becomes far greater, and greater still when the two influences are in conjunction. In general . . . the main determinants seem to be found in the existence in the parties whether *hearing* or *deaf*, of deaf relatives." [7]

[6] Best, Harry, *The Deaf*, New York, pp. 15 and 62.
[7] Ibid., p. 52.

On the whole the studies of congenital deafness seem to indicate that it is hereditary along Mendelian lines. Hence the question of marriage among the deaf is important. There is every reason to believe that marriages between the deaf are happier and pleasanter, as well as more natural from every point of view, than between the deaf and the hearing. The prohibition of such marriages by law would probably be impossible, and if it could be carried out would add to the hardships which the deaf already bear. Two-thirds of the cases of deafness are acquired, not congenital, and consequently not hereditary. Where there are traces of hereditary deafness in the families of either husband or wife the bringing of children into the world to inherit the parental disability seems unfortunate. Consequently an intelligent birth-control policy which would allow for marriage without liability of parenthood seems entirely justified in such cases.

Economic Condition of the Deaf.—From the economic point of view, the deaf present a great contrast to the blind. Of the deaf twenty years of age and over, the 1910 census showed 50.1 per cent gainfully employed, compared with 50.2 per cent gainfully employed in the general population. The deaf do not go to work quite as early as do the hearing, but after reaching maturity they seem to have almost as many possibilities in industry as do their more fortunate brothers. With the exception of commercial and mercantile pursuits, there is no particular industry, unless it be driving trucks and motor-cars, for which the deaf are incapacitated by their handicap. As might be expected, therefore, the deaf are not a burden upon the community; they furnish only their due proportion of public or private dependents. The deaf in general take pride in their independence and not only refuse to accept assistance but object vigorously to special exceptions being made in their cases. They claim that they are quite as able to support themselves as other people and they ask no special favors. As a whole they are very bitter against the relatively few deaf people who use their misfortune as a means of soliciting alms from the public; indeed, the National Association of the Deaf has issued resolutions warning the public against aiding individuals who claim deafness as a cause of need. They contend with much truth that most such alms-seekers are impostors, and that they bring all the deaf into ill-repute. There are certain of the aged deaf—just as there are aged among the hearing—who become dependent, and for these institutions may be required. There are very few such institutions, however, and many of them are partially supported by the deaf themselves, an excellent example of the spirit of mutual helpfulness.

Education of the Deaf.—It is only in comparatively recent years that it has been recognized that the deaf are educable; consequently

it is only within the same period that the deaf have been able to assume the position of economic independence which they occupy today. For education is the chief—some may say the only—social adjustment which society needs to make toward the deaf. With special educational facilities, facilities more expensive than those which the hearing demand, the economic disabilities of the deaf can be and are being removed. To a large extent the social disabilities are also removed. Education gives to the deaf a method of communication, or several methods, which take the place of the spoken voice, and thus removes the worst curse.

Within the last century most civilized countries have recognized the importance of schools for the deaf, and in the United States there is a well organized system of instruction, under both public and private auspices, ministering to their special needs. For the most part the deaf are trained in boarding-schools, but there is growing up an increasing number of day-schools, particularly in large cities. These schools minister to the special needs of their pupils, not only academically but also vocationally, and the result has been the wonderfully successful economic showing which the deaf have made. In the United States the government has completed the educational system with a nationally supported institution of collegiate rank.

Social Readjustments Necessary.—Aside from education, which on the whole is well provided, the chief change which the deaf themselves crave is in the attitude of the public toward them. They are frequently spoken of as "strange," differing from the ordinary run of people. They are "uncanny,"—a social inheritance from a distant past. Then, too, they object, and with reason, to being classed with the "defectives." The novelists and story writers have done much, also, to popularize a view that the deaf are unhappy. That there are unhappy deaf people, is certainly true; but there are also unhappy hearing people.

Actually:

> "The deaf are cheerful, swayed by the same emotions as other mortals, responsive equally to all touches of life, and are not, at least in these days of education, a morbid, brooding, passionate folk, as is too often the popular judgment." [8]

Naturally the deaf object to being classed with the dependents, although even such eminent students of social pathology as Professor Devine and Robert Hunter so enumerate them. The former calls the deaf "embodiments of misery" [9] and the latter places them as "ab-

[8] Ibid., p. 103.

[9] Devine, E. T., *Misery and its Causes*, p. 45.

solute dependents."[10] That this is not the case has already been shown. The deaf should be looked on, not as abnormal or different, but simply as individuals suffering from a handicap which can be largely overcome by adequate education with vocational adjustment, and a change in the point of view toward them.

Prevention is another matter. Here medical treatment and preventive hygiene as a protection against infectious disease, are the most important. An application of our constantly increasing knowledge of heredity will do much, also, to prevent hereditary deafness. With the necessary adjustments toward the deaf, society has already made great progress; along the lines of prevention much remains to be done.

The Crippled

The crippled or disabled (to use a more accurate term) are a far more numerous group than either the blind or the deaf, and present greater extremes of disability. The causes and the results of the disability are so distinct that it is difficult even to arrive at a definition as to what a disabled person is: the best is that adopted by the Cleveland Survey of Cripples, viz., all persons "who are handicapped because they lack the normal use of skeleton or skeletal muscles."[11]

Number of Cripples.—There is no authentic census of cripples in the United States, although every evidence points to a very considerable number. The very existence of wooden-legged or armless individuals selling pencils along the streets of almost any good-sized town or city is evidence of a sort, although not a few of these beggars are cripples in name only. The Cleveland Survey showed a ratio of six cripples to every thousand persons, and a Massachusetts census in 1905 gave a ratio of 5.7 per thousand. Taking these figures as a fair basis, the number for the entire United States would run well over 600,000. This estimate agrees in essentials with that made in a report to the fifth meeting of the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards which estimated 600,000 industrially incapacitated by physical disablement. In addition to that the report estimated that there were almost a million and a half other crippled and disabled persons in the United States who were able to work. The writer further pointed out that

> "It would require an army of over 43,000,000 continuously in contact with the enemy for a year . . . to produce the number of industrial cripples . . . alive at this instant in the United States alone."[12]

[10] Hunter, Robert, *Poverty*, p. 76.
[11] Survey of all the Cripples of Cleveland, Ohio—1916, p. 13.
[12] U. S. Bureau Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 274, p. 201.

While the ratio of disabling accidents in civil life to those in war has not been definitely ascertained, there is considerable reason to believe that industry takes far the greater toll, even with modern safety devices. During the nineteen months of our participation in the World War 48,000 soldiers were killed or fatally wounded; during the same period 126,000 civilians were killed or fatally wounded.

Children and Adults.—Disabilities in children are generally due to disease, although with the common use of the automobile crippling accidents are all too common. Disablements occurring in adult life are more frequently caused by accident, and there is much less chance of cure. Both, of course, require high grade medical and surgical care. The child needs special education to fit him for economic independence, while the adult needs re-education. The fact that children's disabilities are more frequently the result of diseases, particularly infantile paralysis, bone tuberculosis, cardiac defects, rickets, etc., emphasizes the necessity of campaigns of prevention. The extent to which tuberculosis of the bone is a factor in crippling children is particularly alarming, and adds another reason for the movement against tuberculosis. The necessity for increased play space for children is emphasized by the number of automobile accidents. Proper instruction in care in crossing streets is necessary also, and for this we must look to the school or the home, especially the former. Better regulation of traffic and increased surveillance of drivers of motor vehicles is also important.

A large proportion of adult cripples, in Cleveland approximately a third, have been disabled since childhood. Industrial accidents are responsible for a large amount of disability, but, as noted above, a relatively decreasing amount. An increasingly large number of crippled people in the United States owe their misfortune to accidents outside of industry, and particularly to those concerned in some way with the automobile. At almost every minute during the twenty-four hours some man, woman, or child is involved in a crippling automobile accident somewhere in the United States. In this respect "America leads the world."

The Treatment of the Crippled.—It has already been stated that after the initial medical care comes the second need of practically all cripples, specialized training for industry. Some will never be able to become economically independent, and for these some method of care will have to be arranged, either in their own homes or in institutions for dependents. For crippled children, many cities have established special schools which provide not only medical care and regular school work, but also prevocational and vocational training which takes into account the child's particular handicap. A bus is furnished to

take the children to and from school. In New York City a large corps of visiting teachers is also employed to go to the homes of those cripples who are unable to attend school. In some states, hospital-schools have also been established where children can receive both hospital care and education. This is especially necessary for children from the rural districts. The competition with other children who are similarly handicapped is also desirable. In the home the crippled child is often either neglected or spoiled, and in the ordinary public school he is frequently left out of everything. The mental reaction to such experiences is particularly important, and hence the advantages which come from living with and in competition with other cripples.

Education for Crippled Adults.—With adults, education or re-education is especially important. During and immediately after the war the military cripples received a great deal of attention. (In previous wars our government had pensioned its disabled soldiers, many of them inadequately, and others much too adequately.) In addition to a very liberal insurance provision, the government agreed to furnish compensation for those who were disabled, if the handicap amounted to 10 per cent or more. The amount varied with the extent of the disability and the number of dependents. The nation also furnished hospital and medical care and provided specialized institutions for different disabilities. In addition, there was established a Board of Vocational Education whose chief duty has been to furnish re-education and vocational guidance to the disabled. Political manipulation has to some extent interfered with the realization of these plans, but they have accomplished more for the disabled of the Great War than ever has been done before. There is no excuse for the disabled soldiers asking for assistance beyond that which the country has provided.

What has been done for war cripples points the way for the care of the disabled in civilian life. Adequate medical and surgical care, financial support during illness, and re-education, and a carefully organized vocational training and placement service are all necessary if the problem of the crippled is to be handled with any degree of success. Many states have established state rehabilitation departments in connection with industrial accident commissions, boards of education, or public employment services to develop this type of after-care, and in 1920 a Federal Act was passed which provides financial assistance to the states undertaking this work. The State Department has to meet the fairly high standards of the Federal Board of Vocational Education. This act, with the Shephard-Towner Act, is a pioneer movement in the direction of national as well as local responsibility for the maladjusted groups in our population.

The Street Beggar

This seems the most appropriate place to discuss a problem which fortunately in America, at least, is becoming less serious, but which is by no means eliminated—the street beggar. There are beggars who rely either on their real or apparent age, the possession of young children (their own or someone else's) or the artistic nature of the story that they can tell, for success, but these are rarely the ordinary street beggars. These individuals are more likely to use the house-to-house method, or even, strange as it may seem, to attempt to victimize the charitable agency.

It is the one-armed or one-legged person with the crutch or wooden limb very much in evidence, or the well-marked black-spectacled "blind" man or woman who sits hour after hour on the busy street-corner with hand-organ or derby-hat with a few stray pencils who is the typical street beggar. Simon-pure begging is almost out-of-date in the United States, but begging under the pretense of selling some useless article is still very common. Begging itself is an old trade, and in the world's older civilizations, notably in Italy and in the East, it is a highly respected profession. The churches in Catholic Europe and holy places in the East are frequented by mendicants who capitalize the piety of the visitors. The various precepts in the Old and New Testaments in regard to giving to the poor reflect this Eastern attitude, and even today in a more enlightened Western civilization it takes a hard-headed person indeed to pass one of these pathetic objects without responding to their mute appeal, or at the least without feeling temporarily ashamed of himself for resisting. Even in the New World the capitalizing of defect is exceedingly common in some places, notably in parts of South America and in French Canada. In Montreal, for instance, until very recently it was the custom to issue licenses for beggars, who were for the most part real or feigned cripples or blind.

In the United States the outright licensing of beggars is not practiced, but licenses to peddle are frequently given which simply serve as cloaks for the older practice. Far too many of those licensed are impostors, and for the genuinely handicapped this is of all possible adjustments the very worst. It capitalizes the handicap, and stands in the way of any constructive effort. People who have dealt with the blind or the crippled find that those who have once been able to live on the "easy money" which the generosity of a thoughtless public offers will almost never coöperate in any constructive plan. Not only is the amount thus secured relatively large, but the way in which it is gathered has a strong psychological appeal; it compensates for the inferiority which the handicapped person ordinarily feels; for the time being

he occupies the center of the stage, and then like everyone else, he enjoys the sensation of getting something for nothing.

Street begging in many American communities is forbidden by ordinance. Such ordinances, however, are hard to enforce, because until the nuisance becomes intolerable, public opinion and even the police consider its enforcement cruel. Where there are well-organized social agencies, either public or private, to which the beggar can be sent for help, enforcement is not cruel, but rather it is for the best interest of the mendicant as well as the public. There is a growing public recognition of this fact but it needs to become universal. Especially the police authorities need information both as to the amount of deception practised and as to the very real injury which this method of life imposes on the cripple and the temptation it presents to refuse medical treatment and vocational reëducation.

Street peddling is allowed in most communities, and in the great majority of them it is simply a cloak for mendicancy. It should be as strictly forbidden by ordinance as begging, and enforcement should be rigorous. Cripples who apply for a peddling license should be referred to the proper agency to care for the handicapped, instead of being granted authority to prey on the charity of the public. It may be that some few of them will be unable to do much except sell goods, but indoor selling in newspaper stands, etc., where an article really wanted is furnished, is eminently desirable for the community, and essential for the cripple. There is absolutely nothing to be said for the present policy of meeting the situation half-way through camouflaged street-begging. The deaf, as before noted, have urged the public not to patronize either the really deaf or the pretended deaf who peddle or beg. Similar action on the part of associations of blinded or crippled men and women would be helpful in curbing unwise charity. But above all for the prevention of this abuse, an appreciation on the part of the public of the lack of wisdom or kindliness in the present way of caring for the handicapped, and the necessity of a systematic effort to meet their needs through medical and educational resources, is essential. There is no excuse either for the street beggar or the street peddler in America.

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CHAPTER XI

THE MENTALLY DISEASED

The term "insanity" has been violently criticized by some psychiatrists as purely legal and as confusing the situation. What insanity means is that an individual is not "sane," or "balanced." It says nothing about the causes of the trouble and gives very little description of the effects. The term "mentally diseased" is more accurate, and since the word disease is general and covers a number of possible situations, it is much to be preferred. Many people are mentally diseased who are not in any sense insane. Then, too, the term disease links up mental illness with physical illness where it properly belongs.

Mental Disease and Mental Defect.—It is somewhat difficult to differentiate between feeble-mindedness and insanity or mental disease, but in general it is safe to say that mental defect implies a lack of mind, whereas mental disease implies the existence of a normal mind which owing to one cause or another has become deranged. Mental defect and its maladjustments have already been discussed.

Symptoms of Mental Disease.—Mental disease generally shows itself through lack of control; illusions, delusions, hysteria, melancholia, unnatural reactions to stimuli, are the commonest symptoms. Socially it has become evident that a mentally diseased person, at any rate one in an advanced state, is not responsible for his acts and is in need of guardianship.

The Treatment of the Insane before Modern Times.—Mental disease is as old as humanity. Among primitive peoples the insane have been recognized and set apart. Among certain tribes they were regarded as sacred, and real or simulated insanity was a part of the equipment of the medicine man or priest. Even in more advanced societies the insane were sometimes looked upon as the mouthpieces of divinity. Among other peoples the insane were cruelly treated, and in many semi-civilized tribes they were cast out from the community. Among such groups the insane were supposed to be possessed of "devils," a belief which has not wholly disappeared. Often it produces a morbid fear of the insane and of insanity which affects both the afflicted person and the community. Such unfortunates as had to be cared for were cast into horrible dungeons, fed on bread and water, and restrained in irons. Even the most humane people provided

nothing but custodial care for the mentally diseased, who got well or remained ill as luck would have it. Any idea of treatment is only about a century old.

The Humanitarian Movement.—About one hundred years ago, largely owing to the efforts of one woman, Dorothea L. Dix of Massachusetts, an interest in the woeful plight of the insane was created. She visited prisons, almshouses, and hospitals in which these poor creatures were confined in every state east of the Rockies and in many parts of Europe, and wrote and spoke indefatigably in their behalf. Largely through her works the first public hospital for the indigent insane was opened in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1832. Her aim was to take the mentally diseased from other types of institutions, particularly jails, where they had been neglected and abused, and to place them where they would at least be harmless to the community and would receive kind treatment. At first there was little idea of medical treatment leading toward recovery, and the early institutions were built in the cathedral style. These institutions, many of which are still used, were huge, expensive stone or brick buildings, generally established in pleasant surroundings but not equipped in any way to segregate the various types of mental disease, or to lead step by step back to normal life. Despite their humanitarian motives they still maintained the restrictive measures of the prison, and many such institutions even today show traces of this early period. Whippings, irons, straps, the water-cure, and other refinements of cruelty are by no means all done away with, although they are rapidly being discarded.

The Beginnings of Medical Care.—The separation of the mentally diseased from other dependent or criminal groups and their segregation in one institution was, however, of inestimable value for their treatment. Since many of them were manifestly physically diseased, it was natural to place physicians in charge of these asylums, and it was equally natural that the physicians in treating their physical ills should, often by the merest chance, stumble on the cure of mental ills as well. At first the attention of observers of the insane was directed to their mental symptoms, but a change of emphasis came with the asylum stage until at present the main interest is in the physical condition of the patient. More and more scientists are coming to feel that mind and body are inseparably one. This transfer of attention is well illustrated by the brief history of the evolution of ideas regarding "general paresis," one of the more common forms of mental disease, as given by Myerson:

> A man develops ideas of grandeur, calls himself God, assumes lofty attitudes, attempts to kill those denying his divinity, becomes immoral and deteriorated—these are changes of such remarkable nature as to enlist Society, the Law and Medicine against him, and he is locked up as insane.

Then in the course of generations an astute observer notices that the pupils are changed in such individuals, that they possess a peculiar immobility to light stimuli, and others observe that if one taps the patellar tendon . . . the knee jerks thus obtained are usually very lively, or in some cases absent. Thus there is added something of importance besides the mental phenomena which now interest the psychiatrist, viz., clinical neurological signs. Sometime later the development of post-mortem science discloses the fact that the brain of the patients of this kind shows decided changes, and also in patients showing quite different symptoms, and there becomes built up a *disease* entity called general paresis, and the psychiatrist is interested now . . . in the brain changes that condition this picture. . . . It is now learned that blood and spinal fluid show more definite evidence than the mental signs, are much more diagnostic and conclusive; that the cause of general paresis is syphilis, and that this is independent of mental symptoms. Thus . . . the status of general paresis as a mental disease becomes secondary to its relation to syphilis, a "venereal" disease, a disease involving arteries, liver, bones, joints, skin and mucous membranes. In other words general paresis, a mental disease, becomes biologically nearer to a syphilitic infection of the liver than it does to another "mental disease," dementia praecox.[1]

This illustration gives in brief compass the change that has come over scientific thinking in comparatively recent years in respect to insanity, a change largely due to the opportunities which segregation has given for specialized study. While the example of general paresis is particularly clear-cut, the same general situation exists regarding other types of mental disease. Although in many cases the connection has not yet been so fully worked out, psychiatrists are coming more and more to the conclusion that mental disease and physical disease are one in origin; the symptoms may differ but the underlying causes are the same. A special school of psychiatrists make generous claims for focal infections of the teeth, the alimentary canal, and other parts of the organism as producing strepticoccal organisms which find their way to the brain cells and cause deterioration which brings on mental disease. Such statements are regarded with suspicion by the more conservative psychiatrists, but the claims of the infectionists are strongly substantiated by clinical cases.

The present period, then, is distinguished by an emphasis on the unity of physical and mental disease, and an emphasis on laboratory and clinical technique. Restraint is of course still necessary, and the institutions for the care of the insane are still crowded, but their *raison-d'être* has changed. Instead of being primarily places for the temporary or permanent care of people whose mental condition made it unsafe to permit them their freedom, within the last quarter-century they have become primarily hospitals, devoting themselves to a

[1] Myerson, A., *The Inheritance of Mental Diseases,* Baltimore, 1925, pp. 17–18.

specialized type of disease. They have also become research institutions from whose gates have issued, patients not only cured in body and in mind, but in information regarding mental health and its enemies, which has made possible the beginnings of a community program of mental hygiene.

Social Implications of Mental Disease.—It is unnecessary to devote much space to a consideration of the burdens which mental disease places on society. All disease is anti-social in that it causes individual suffering and creates a condition in which the person afflicted cannot be economically self-supporting, thus adding to the load which some other person or group must carry. Mental disease is in many respects even more socially disastrous. For one thing it is often hard to detect until it has created untold havoc. Of course, the outstanding examples of such suffering are seen in such acts as murder, suicide, incendiarism, and the whole catalog of crimes for which people are adjudged lunatics and committed to institutions. Their commitment, however, does not bring back to life those whose lives they have taken or restore the property destroyed. But the spectacular criminal cases do not tell the whole story or take into consideration even the most serious aspects. The untold number of broken homes, of children suffering because of parents in disagreement, of business failures, of disappointed, discouraged individuals struggling with mental depression, make up a far greater sum than the more striking criminal cases. Recently attention has been focused on "conflicts" of various types, through the emphasis on Freudian psycho-analytic methods, but even the combined output of the Freudians has not served to portray the amount of suffering—real suffering, not imaginary—which mental difficulties bring about, any more than their rather simple explanation has given all the underlying causes.

Treatment of the Insane.—Society has two very important tasks before it in relation to the mentally diseased. The more immediate is the less important; viz., the care and if possible the cure of those already afflicted. This involves accurate diagnosis as the first desideratum, and that in turn postulates the establishment of numerous and accessible psychopathic clinics throughout the country. These clinics should be manned not only by competent physicians, but also by social workers, who can secure the information which the diagnostician needs, and can see that his advice is carried out in treatment. In order that those who need the treatment should avail themselves of it before it is too late, every effort should be made to remove the present stigma which rests on the "demented." Such clinics should be removed from the insane asylums or psychopathic hospitals, and if possible attached to general hospitals. This would be of assistance also in securing adequate general medical service.

School teachers, social workers, employers, and general practitioners should be encouraged to refer cases to these clinics. The service would be of special benefit to the schools, and in turn the schools would render the greatest service to the community in getting hold of children predisposed to mental ailments. Frequently environmental factors in children's lives would be found to accentuate nervous and mental troubles, which could be removed by sympathetic and intelligent social treatment, or the predisposition itself, which according to recent discoveries frequently rests on a physical basis, could be treated.

In addition to the clinics, permanent hospitals for the mentally ill are needed, not only, indeed not mainly, for custodial purposes, but to afford the physicians adequate facilities for treatment of those who cannot be treated at home. In this way mental illness differs in no way from other ills. There will always be the necessity for custodial care for the dangerously insane, and the obligation for proper institutions rests definitely on the state. In most of our states the custodial institutions are over-crowded, and consequently cases which need not only treatment for their own sake, but custody for the sake of the community, are discharged. The recent statements of superintendents of various institutions and the experience of more than one community where horrible crimes have been committed by former institutional inmates, is proof enough of this situation. The number of insane in institutions has increased alarmingly in recent years, about four times as fast as the general population, and this has put a considerable burden on existing institutions and on state treasuries to provide new or enlarged ones. This, however, should not prevent the state from performing its primary duty of protection to its citizens. Better and more adequate clinical facilities and more frequent and earlier use of them may in time put an end to this increase in hospital inmates; but meanwhile the state must provide adequate care.

The Prevention of Mental Disease.—Prevention and treatment are closely bound together. It is through the treatment and study of cases that a knowledge of the causes of mental disease is being gained. The clinics should have not only adequate funds for treatment but also special funds and workers for research. If the cause of every type of insanity were as well known as is that of general paresis, prevention would be far more possible than it is today.

Untold thousands of potential cases of paresis have been prevented through treatment of syphilis, and there is no doubt that similar treatment of the causal factors of other types of insanity, when known, would have similar beneficent results. Back of specific treatment in the paresis cases is the even more beneficial effect of general

education as to the dangers of venereal infection; when the causes of other types are as clearly demonstrated, the spread of hygienic information may have equally good results. Hence the primary hope for prevention is more knowledge of causes, and equally important, the public spread of such knowledge.

In addition to the physical factors already discussed, there is no question that certain social factors are important in causing mental disease. The greater incidence of insanity among immigrants than among the native-born is a case in point; the mental strain of a new environment and the often unsatisfactory living conditions almost certainly contribute to the breakdown. Likewise city dwellers as contrasted with country people are more likely to become mentally ill. In helping to meet such situations the social worker is of great value. Lessening the social tension will be possible in some cases, and even a sympathetic recognition of the difficulty is helpful.

Much social work can be done, also, to remove or alleviate certain of the underlying causes through information and general education. This is the case with the campaign against venereal disease, alcoholism, and neglect of general medical care. Equally important is the function which can be performed in helping to adjust the environment. A proper understanding by employers and the public of the strain under which the immigrant labors will help a great deal; so also something may be done to modify the friction often developed between parents and children. Sympathetic and intelligent explanations to the invalid, or potential invalid, will do much to prevent serious illness. More socialized education and greater recreational opportunities, also, will help to develop individual as well as social sanity.

Hospital Admission and Discharge.—Admission to mental hospitals is not only a medical affair, as with other diseases, but also a legal one. The reasons for this lie in the fact that there have been unjust commitments to insane asylums, and the public feels that the interests of the individual must be protected. Hence in certain states a man can be committed to an insane asylum only after a legal hearing, and in extreme cases he even has a right to a jury trial, by which a jury of laymen decide on his sanity; of all the absurdities of the jury system, this is the most absurd. The more enlightened states are coming to see that with mental disease, as with other diseases, the scientific man is the only competent judge. At the same time there is an unquestionable need of safeguarding individual rights, but such a need can be adequately met through the appointment of qualified medical men trained in psychiatry as a permanent body to pass on all applications for admission; this board should have aid from lawyers and from social investigators whenever there is the slightest question of improper motive in seeking the commitment.

Temporary commitment, for a strictly limited time pending investigation, would obviate any disadvantages arising from delay.

As with admissions, so it should be with discharges. Neither voluntary nor committed inmates should be discharged from hospital or custodial care without the action of a board of examiners, other than those of the institution in question, and no cases should be discharged merely on petition of relatives or friends. Relatives or friends should possess at all times the right to petition for discharge, and whether the petition is granted or withheld, should have the right of appearing before an unbiased professional discharging board. This board, too, should pass on questions of parole for all patients who are in any way potentially dangerous, and should be responsible for their conduct when on parole. The growth of parole for insane patients has been one of the ways by which the asylums have made room for their incoming patients, but far too frequently it has been unsupervised. Parole, just as placing-out for children or the feeble-minded, requires the most careful investigation of the individual to whom the patient goes, and supervision of his progress. Parole boards should be equipped with trained social investigators.

Mental Disease in the Future.—In spite of the increase in the number of the mentally ill which has given many prophets of woe texts for gloomy sermons, the social as well as the individual prognosis for mental ills is increasingly favorable. Medical science, combined with psychology, is fast discovering the causes of mental disease, and with the cause come more certain methods of treatment. Prevention is far more difficult, for it often involves radical changes in our social customs, and above all a clearing away of the mystical and "devilish" from all notions of mental disease. The physically ill have very largely escaped from the medieval notion of "the curse of God," but the mentally ill still suffer. It should be thoroughly understood that mental and physical ills are equally blameworthy, but the one not more so than the other, and that frequently the blame rests on society rather than on the individual. Prevention implies examination and adjustment in early stages, and as long as we continue, subconsciously at least, to regard the mentally ill as either fakirs or possessed we cannot attain that result. Much, too, depends on general improvements in public and personal hygiene. The campaign against venereal disease will diminish the amount of general paresis; according to many authorities, improved dentistry and tonsillotomy will prevent other types of insanity; and unquestionably more rational ways of living, with more wholesome recreation, will lead to less mental tension.

The two things most needed in the treatment and prevention of mental disease are sympathy and knowledge. With intelligent sympathy the funds and the personnel for scientific discovery will be made

available. We are well on the way to knowing a great deal about mental disease; the problem now is whether we are going to have enough intelligent sympathy to put our knowledge into use.

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CHAPTER XII

DRUNKARDS AND DRUG-ADDICTS

The Drunkard

If this book had been written twenty-five years ago, the present chapter would not have been included in the section dealing with health. To the first students of social problems alcoholism loomed large. Even so acute an observer as Amos Warner in the earlier editions of his epoch-making study, *American Charities,* placed intemperance first among the personal causes of degeneration, including it with immorality, laziness, and lack of common sense. Today we regard both alcoholism and drug-addiction as aspects of pathological, physical, and mental states, in much the same way as we regard tuberculosis and venereal disease. In most cases of sub-normal health there enter elements of individual and social responsibility as well as pre-determined physiological and psychological causes, existing either in the individual or in the environment; drunkenness and drug-addiction offer no exception. There is less inclination today to consider the drinker or even the purveyor of drink as totally depraved, and more inclination to find out what induces the excessive desire for drink.

History of Alcoholism.—Even pre-historic man knew the charm of alcoholic liquor. From implements found in kitchen-middens and from observation of primitive man in various parts of the world, it would appear that a knowledge of the effects of alcohol and of methods of obtaining it were almost universal. Its use varied a great deal in different parts of the world and at different periods of history. On the whole, the stronger alcoholic stimulants seem to be more popular among the natives of cold climates, such as that from which the older American stock mostly came, while the natives of warm countries satisfy their thirst on weaker beverages. It has generally been because of the greater strength of the European potations that they have wrought such havoc with primitive groups.

Reasons for Stimulants.—The primitive and the civilized man alike frequently desire to get away from the monotony of humdrum existence, and one of the quickest ways to do this is through imbibing a sufficient amount of alcohol. Among most peoples the moderate use of alcohol as a stimulant seems to have little or no harmful effects—effects more than compensated by the "glorious feeling of sat-

isfaction and achievement," and at times by real achievement performed under the influence of the stimulant. For the ordinary person moderate drinking or even excessive drinking was "one way of getting cheaply a sort of satisfaction that none of the ordinary opportunities offered him." The excessive drinker of course paid a price which more than offset the benefit received.

Extent of Alcoholism.—The moderate use of alcohol does not constitute a social problem. The excessive drinker, on the other hand, presents a very serious individual and frequently social problem, and consequently it is desirable to know the amount of excessive drinking. There is no question that for the last century or more, western Europe and America have been becoming more and more temperate. In the days of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers, not only did every one drink, just as is the case today in Italy or Germany, but, as is not the case in those countries, a very large proportion of the population drank to excess. Intoxication was common in all walks of life and the various ills due to alcohol were far more common than they are today. One has only to read the literature of a century or two ago to confirm this statement. For the last hundred years and particularly in the last half-century the people of the United States, and to a less extent of England, have been becoming markedly less addicted to intoxicants. The fact that but nine per cent of the draft were listed as alcoholics is proof that such was true, even before the introduction of prohibition, and the gradual falling off of admissions to insane asylums, deaths from alcoholism, etc., which preceded the Eighteenth Amendment is additional proof, —proof which the advocates of prohibition often overlook.

The Industrial Revolution and Alcoholism.—Whatever may have been its other effects, there is no question that the Industrial Revolution has placed a premium on steadiness and sobriety which has largely put the habitually intemperate man and woman out of the running. The diminution in excessive drinking was mainly due to this fundamental economic reason, re-inforced by a great deal of temperance education. It is significant to note that when industry made temperance desirable, then, and not until then, did intemperance and the selling of liquor become immoral and irreligious. Restrictive legislation in regard to the hours and methods of dispensing liquor unquestionably contributed to this decrease in the amount of intemperance, although in the opinion of the writer far less so than the economic urge. The excessive drinker could not hold a job, and holding a job is fundamental in our present economic system. Whatever may have been the cause, there is no argument as to the decrease in alcoholism before the Prohibition Amendment. It may be that the comparatively few who became confirmed drunkards

consumed more alcohol than had been the case before, and hence the per capita consumption increased, although many of the statistics on both sides of this question, as Rice points out, are utterly unreliable,[1] but the fact remains that steady excessive drinking was less than it had been for many generations.[2]

Prohibition and Intemperance.—Just what the effect of the Prohibition Amendment in the United States has been, it is too early to say. Many optimistic observers believe that it has accelerated the tendency toward temperance already under way, while others, apparently equally trustworthy, produce data showing that in resistance to what appears unfair sumptuary legislation, there has been a reaction toward intemperance. The report of the Federal Council of Churches, recently issued, takes the position that it is yet too early to judge of the effect of the amendment either in increasing or diminishing the amount of alcoholism, and on the whole that is the position with which the writer would agree. There is no question that the elimination of the saloon would tend to reduce alcoholism somewhat, and some of its attendant evils as well; on the other hand, the disregard for law manifest in bootlegging, the widespread corruption of state and national officials, and the consumption of poisonous stimulants of uncertain origin, offset to some degree the important social gain in the elimination of the saloon. The fact that excessive drinking has again become fashionable among intelligent people, and especially among the young of both sexes, is also a count against prohibition, but this may only be a passing phase.

Alcoholism and Heredity.—All studies made of confirmed alcoholics show that the great majority of them are either mentally defective or border-line cases. Investigations both in this country and in England have borne out the contention made in the section on the mentally deficient, that alcoholism instead of being a cause of mental defect, as is frequently alleged, is rather a result. That chronic alcoholism sometimes causes mental deficiency is not disputed, but by far the greater trend is the other way. It is the defective, and particularly the border-line defective, who becomes a chronic alcoholic, and by this means lowers his own limited mental efficiency. Not only the feeble-minded but also the neurotic, whether through heredity or environment, are liable to become victims of alcoholism. Queen describes the relationship between alcoholism and nervous instability as follows:

"First, the native restlessness may lead to drinking as a means of securing that vaguely defined something-or-other which may relieve this inner

[1] See Rice, Stuart A., *Prohibition and Statistics*, Journal of Social Forces, 2; 654–657, 1924.

[2] Platt, Chas., *In Defense of Science*, Nation, 120, 33–35, 1925.

pressure. Second, it may be that without deliberately seeking the alcohol, the neurotic may easily be induced by others to partake. Third, having partaken, he will probably display more promptly and more obviously disturbing effects of the liquor. The alcohol will be apt to emphasize the existing weakness, and leave the neurotic in a much worse condition than he was before. Under these circumstances, the final condition of the patient may be ascribed *both* to his heredity and to his alcoholism." [3]

Effects of Alcoholism.—Of the effects of drinking much has been written, but there is a growing tendency on the part of scientists and physicians to question the extreme statements made, although there is much more agreement as to the consequences of alcoholism on the social group than on the individual.

As already intimated, there are few reliable data as to the effects of moderate drinking. Some experiments with animals and with human beings seem to show that even small doses of alcohol have a deleterious effect, but other experiments made by scientists equally prominent and equally careful show no harmful effects and indeed some beneficial ones. There is no question that the data on the effects of alcohol which have been included in most elementary school courses in physiology for many years—at the behest of the Women's Christian Temperance Union—is thoroughly unscientific. In countries such as France, Italy, and Germany, where moderate drinking is almost universal, it is difficult to prove that there has been any pathological effect either on the individual or on society; indeed much of the charm of the social life and the literary and artistic output of those countries centers around the wine-complex.

It is frequently charged that moderate drinking leads to excessive drinking,—an unquestioned evil. The answer to this is that with few exceptions only individuals who are physically or mentally defective succumb, and the question to be decided is whether there is enough gain for the millions of moderate drinkers to compensate for the losses which these comparatively few pathological individuals sustain. ("Mental defect" should be understood to include marked deficiency of will-power.) The entire question deserves and is at present receiving serious study.

Effects of Chronic Alcoholism.—The most obvious effect of acute alcoholism is intoxication,—that is, a temporary inhibition of the nerve centers. There are chronic results of equal importance, however—an alcoholic poisoning which manifests itself in indigestion, muscular weakness, sleeplessness, high blood pressure, hardening of the arteries, and cirrhosis of the liver. The nervous effects are even more marked: gradual loss of ambition and of a sense of responsibility. Since most of these chronic alcoholics have congenitally psychopathic

[3] Queen & Mann, *Social Pathology*, New York, 1925, pp. 618–619.

tendencies, they present an example of a completely vicious circle, with mental weakness leading to alcoholism and alcoholism causing increased mental as well as physical deterioration.

The social effects of chronic and excessive alcoholism are even more marked, and it is because of these that the earlier social workers found it easy to lay all poverty, vice, and crime to them. There is no question that chronic and heavy drinking affects the earning power of the worker and hence is directly a cause of poverty, but since the heavy drinker is in all probability constitutionally inferior anyway, the poverty would in many cases exist even if the drinking were absent. Unquestionably, chronic drinking is disturbing to family life, but here again the same question enters. As to the effects on children, we come across conflicting data. Common experience would seem to show that children of heavily drinking men and women are neglected and abused more than those in sober homes, and yet the studies of the Eugenics Laboratory in London indicate that "the general health of the children of alcoholic parents appears slightly better than the health of the children of sober parents." [4] There is no question, however, that "the whole fabric of family life is endangered by the excessive alcoholism of either parent," [5] although families which alcoholism upsets may be said to have been established on an unstable basis in the beginning. Possibly, too, the employment of a psychiatrist to ascertain the underlying mental difficulty might be more efficient than removing the drink, so far the usual method of social and religious workers.

Alcoholism and Immorality.—The statement frequently is made that alcoholism leads to sexual excess and hence to venereal infection. While naturally there is little direct proof obtainable, it would seem that the general stimulation and freedom from inhibitions which result from drinking might tend to an increase of illicit sexual relations. Crime and intemperance also have been closely connected by some, but the evidence here is very conflicting. Certain crimes against the person, fighting, disorderly conduct, etc., probably are increased by alcohol; on the other hand, it is questionable if the commission of serious crimes by normal persons is very much affected. Cases of murder, rape, etc., said to have been committed "under the influence of liquor" may come to mind, but psychological examinations of the offender almost always bring out evidence that he is a psychopath of one kind or another. It may be that he would never have committed the particular crime if it had not been for the alcoholic stimulation, but since he usually is not a social asset at any time, the argument

[4] Eugenics Laboratory Memoirs X, *The Influence of Parental Alcoholism*, Elderton and Pearson, p. 31.

[5] Queen & Mann, op. cit., p. 621.

appears to be as strong for restricting his liberty as for taking away alcohol.

The Control of Intemperance.—This book can not attempt to work out a detailed plan by which the world can be made either temperate or arid. However, there are certain social adjustments which have been made or are being made to meet the problem of the alcoholic that deserve consideration.

In general the attack of those reformers who wish to reduce the evil of intemperance has been on alcohol, at least in recent years. It has been felt that if in some way the amount of alcoholic beverages produced were made less and its accessibility to possible victims of the habit diminished, the problem would be solved, and there have been consistent efforts to reduce the "vested commercial interest" in the manufacture and sale of stimulants. These efforts have finally led to the colossal experiment of national prohibition now being tried in the United States. On the whole, the various efforts to reduce the amount of liquor-selling, the number of places where it could be sold, and the hours during which it could be sold, have met with success. Some countries have also attempted to encourage by legislative enactment the use of milder stimulants, placing premiums on the sale of the lighter drinks, such as beer, ale, and wine, and penalizing the sale of the more ardent spirits. Other legislation, also, has placed the responsibility for drunkenness of their patrons on the proprietors of the establishments in which liquor is sold. Such legislation has been notably successful in the Scandinavian countries.

Effects of National Prohibition.—But the American experiment has gone much farther. We have attempted to legislate a country not only into temperance but into absolute teetotalism. There is scarcely recorded in history so ambitious an endeavor to deal with a social problem through nation-wide legislation. The reason given for this experiment is that local or state option was ineffective, and that the only way to keep a nation temperate was through national legislation. The next logical step is world temperance; indeed the identical arguments apply. At present the fact that neighboring countries still allow the manufacture and sale of liquor has admittedly made the problem of prohibition in the United States exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. The existence of international bootlegging both along the seacoast and across the national boundaries is one of the grave problems confronting the Federal Government at the present time, and will continue to be a problem until either we abandon our present policy or other nations accept it.

It is interesting to note the effects of prohibition in the United States. In general it may be said that the use of beer and wines, except home-made wines of light alcoholic content, has ceased. The

difficulty of smuggling beer and wine, on account of their bulk, has accomplished this result. On the other hand, spiritous liquors are both made and imported—it is claimed in diminishing quantities, but statistics are confusing. Statistics have also been produced showing a very considerable falling-off of inebriates cared for by public agencies, of deaths from alcoholism, of commitments to the insane hospitals for alcoholic insanity, and of arrests for crime. Less convincing data have been produced showing a diminution of the crude amount of poverty. Unfortunately these statistics have frequently been gathered by partisans, and certain factors such as the falling-off before prohibition went into effect at all and the increase in figures for the last few years—from 1920 on—in almost every one of the fields mentioned, are omitted.

On the other hand, there is a very great and growing defiance of law, which results from the conviction of a large number of people, not only of the lower classes but of our "best citizens," that the law is unfair and unjust. The recent survey by the Federal Council of Churches points out the serious undermining of our entire governmental system through the collusion of law-evaders with the officers of law enforcement. This is not only true in respect to local officials, who have never been above reproach, but to a degree never before equalled in American history it has given to federal law-enforcing officials a popular reputation for corruption. Whether the gain through prohibition, whatever it may be, is equal to this growth of lawlessness and corruption, will be for the future to determine. It seems to the writer that the gain might have been secured through other means—increased regulation, the adoption of the Scandinavian system, more adequate treatment and control of the mentally defective and psychopathic, etc.,—without subjecting the entire structure of society to such a strain.

The "forbidden fruit" complex which is now associated with the use of alcohol has also been of importance. Young men and women, college and university students, and the intellectual classes generally, bitterly resent the curtailment of their personal liberty in the interest of defectives, and have become consumers of vast amounts of bootleg whisky more from a spirit of defiance than anything else. The problem of college discipline for both men and women has been much aggravated, and it is a very great question whether the harm from this excessive use of stimulants by these young people in the formative period of their lives does not outweigh many of the gains ascribed to prohibition. Then, too, the fact that much of the liquor consumed is of a poor quality and of a far higher alcoholic content than that previously in common use, is also important. The deaths and blindness resulting from wood alcohol are also items to be placed

on the debit side of prohibition, although it is questionable whether these equal the deaths from alcoholism under the old system. Prohibition, tremendous experiment in social control that it is, is still in the balance. That it will be carried through to a conclusion, and given a long test is probable. Whether national prohibition in itself can meet the problem of alcoholism, seems questionable.

Other Solutions.—What, then, are other proposals to meet the acknowledged evils of excessive drinking? First and foremost comes an increased use of psychiatry in our educational system to ascertain early in school days the individuals who are defective or pathological, and the provision by the state of adequate treatment. This would meet many other difficulties besides that of intemperance. With the mentally weak provided for, the problem could be reduced to negotiable proportions. The author believes that with an arrangement similar to the Gothenburg system of strict regulation of the manufacture and sale of liquor, incentives through governmental or private support toward the sale of soft drinks and beer and wine, and finally the strict regulation of the drink-sellers by police officials, we should be well on the way to control the drink problem. Such regulation would not only cover hours of selling, orderliness of premises, etc., but also embody the Scandinavian provision for fines and imprisonment for selling to intoxicated persons; the last place where the inebriated individual received liquor would be fined. That there would be alcoholics who would become social problems even with such a network of protection, is true; just as it is true that there are alcoholics today with prohibition. There would still remain the possibility of treatment for the adult alcoholic who had escaped recognition as a pathological case in childhood. There would not, however, be the lawlessness, corruption, and graft on the one hand, and the entanglement of youth on the other, which prohibition has brought about.

The Drug Addict

It is perhaps unnecessary to justify the treatment of narcotic drugs and their users apart from the alcohol, which in a broad sense might also be considered a drug. The individual and social effects of alcohol differ so widely from those of opium, morphine, heroin, and the like, that the present grouping seems desirable.

Growth and Extent of Drug Addiction.—In the Western World the problem of the narcotic drug and its abuse is of comparatively recent origin. Among some primitive tribes the stimulating or soporific properties of certain plants have long been known and frequently utilized, especially in connection with religious rituals. But it is only as recent years have brought closer contact with the East, where

the use of opium has been common for centuries, and also with developments in chemistry and pharmacology, that the use and abuse of drugs has become common in the Western World. Some of the more powerful drugs have long been used by physicians, but it took the Industrial Revolution and modern chemistry, together with the development of the patent medicine, to create the drug-addict.

Extent of Drug-Addiction.—Just how many drug-addicts there are in Europe and America, nobody knows. Since drugs are generally secured in an illicit manner, and since the practice is not socially approved, their use is kept as secret as possible. It is known, however, that the per capita consumption of harmful drugs is very large in the United States, probably the largest of any country in the world. Various estimates have been made of the number of addicts in the United States, varying all the way from 100,000 to 4,000,000. The most reliable estimates, however, are much nearer the smaller figure, and there is reason to believe that the larger ones are generally put forward by propagandists rather than scientists—150,000 as a maximum number is the estimate of the United States Public Health Service. In parts of Europe the amount of drug-addiction is also large, and in China and India the use of opium is very common. In the latter country it is chewed and the results are said not to be harmful; indeed for the Indian coolie it takes the place of foods with a high nutritive value which he is unable to secure. The Chinese smoke opium, with distinctly harmful effects, although apparently not so devastating as in the West. It would be interesting to know whether or not the use of habit-forming drugs is increasing in the West. Almost all writers on the subject think that this is the case, and some attribute it to prohibition. There is little evidence, however, to support this contention. Whatever increase there may be is probably due more to the commercialized interests which distribute the drugs. There is no question that the huge profits to be made in smuggling drugs offer a strong temptation, and there seems to be some reason to believe that efforts are being made to establish regular markets. Moreover, the vast consumption in the past twenty-five years of patent medicines (many of which contain habit-forming drugs), has undoubtedly helped to create a demand.

The Nature of Drug-Addiction.—Some people who use drugs constantly appear to suffer no great harm thereby; that is, they seem to be in good health and to meet their business and social obligations. Then there are some invalids who need drugs to prevent real suffering, and if these are taken under a physician's direction, they are a benefit rather than a harm.

The vast proportion of drug-users, however, become physically and mentally weakened by them. Drugs frequently affect the diges-

tion, cause sleeplessness, and produce mental disturbances similar to the "horrors" which sometimes follow excessive drinking. But it is the mind which suffers far more than the body. The individual soon becomes conscious of his dependence on the drug with a resultant loss of self-respect and self-confidence. He also realizes that except in the very lowest walks of life the fact that he is a drug-addict causes him to be distrusted and despised, and the consequent loss of status combined with the intense desire for the drug make him feel that he is socially an outcast. He escapes from the pangs of remorse only when he is completely under the influence of the drug, and thus the habit grows by what it feeds on. As a class drug-addicts are unreliable, unsteady workers, and generally, though not always, of little social value.

Cause of Drug-Addiction.—But it does little good to look at the problem purely from the negative point of view. The drug-addict, just as the confirmed alcoholic and the venereally diseased individual, is a sick man. The fault is not his alone, any more than it is that of the tubercular or the neurasthenic. In contrast with alcoholism, drug-addiction seems to attack all classes of society. The poor and the rich, the mentally sound and the defective, alike become drug-addicts if cocaine or opiates are given for a long enough time. As with alcohol, however, it is the weak-willed, mentally defective or unbalanced people who furnish the great body of victims to this terrible disease. The strong-willed alert individual has too many other interests, other calls on his attention and other opportunities for relaxation and self-realization, to surrender to the lotus-like charms of habit-forming drugs. It is particularly the border-line cases who furnish the bulk of users. Among the poor and the idle rich the habit is most common. It is an attempt, conscious or unconscious, to secure through artificial means certain satisfactions which life has apparently denied them. The question with these individuals, as with the alcoholics, is whether they would not develop some other form of abnormality if they had not taken to drugs. There is a larger proportion than among confirmed alcoholics of people apparently normal in mind who through the legitimate use of drugs for illness become addicts. It is to their redemption that the efforts toward a regulation of the drug traffic are directed. Since Western mores do not approve the use of drugs, as is the case with alcohol, one great difficulty in the way of regulation of the drug traffic is absent.

The Treatment of the Addict.—The history of the treatment of drug-addiction is on the whole one of failure. Costly experiments in hospitalization have been made and sometimes medical care has effected a cure. Far too often, however, the "recovered" patient who is restored to society, even with his physical condition greatly bettered,

finds that the old environment plus a knowledge of his former weakness almost inevitably leads to a return of the old habit. Not only must social conditions be changed so that access to the drug is impossible, but convalescents must be placed in an environment where they can realize their own possibilities, and through work recover self-respect. If a cure is to be permanent, the feeling of inferiority which accompanied the drug habit must be compensated for in some normal way. Vocational opportunities for success and recognition, social responsibilities, and above all the feeling that his personality is valued and loved, are essential. In this problem the trained family case-worker might be of great assistance to the medical man. The problem is one of social and individual psychology quite as much as of vocational adjustment or medical care. But with the best of opportunities, the probabilities of recovery do not appear to be great.

National and International Control of the Drug Evil.—With the recognition of the extent of the drug evil there has developed a conviction that the use of habit-forming drugs should be governmentally controlled. In the last half-century most countries have passed laws forbidding the sale of such drugs by other than licensed dealers, and under a physician's prescription. In the United States dealers are obliged to keep records of the sale of drugs with the prescription, in order that abuses of the physicians' power to prescribe as well as illegal sales can be checked up. A special group of police officers known as the "narcotic squad" is kept active in the larger cities. Officers of the Internal Revenue Bureau of the government also attempt to suppress illegal selling. In most countries a very high tariff is laid on the importation of drugs, and in the United States a limit is placed on the amount of raw and manufactured drugs which can be imported.

It was soon recognized, however, that the restriction of this evil, as with alcohol, was not a matter for any one country to handle alone. Smuggling of drugs is far easier even than bootlegging, the profits are larger, and the demand equally insistent if less extensive. Before the War the International Opium Commissions which met at Shanghai and The Hague resulted in treaties between the United States and other nations limiting transportation and sale. Even if these treaties had been carefully carried out—and there is some reason to feel that at times they have been disregarded either wittingly or unwittingly—they would not have met the whole problem. So long as more opium and other drugs were produced and manufactured than legitimate medical and scientific needs required, there was a surplus for illicit consumption, and that surplus was almost bound to reach the drug-using nations. Then, too, in the earlier agreements cocaine and its derivatives were not affected, and in the United States they have become quite as widely used as opium and its products.

The Council of the League of Nations adopted in 1921 a resolution urging restriction of production of opium in all member countries to amounts required for "strictly medicinal and scientific" purposes, but this only passed the Assembly with the quoted phrase changed to "legitimate," which made the resolution meaningless. The change was the result of the efforts of the opium-producing countries, particularly the English representative of India. In 1924-25 two international conferences were summoned by the League to meet at Geneva to discuss opium-smoking in the East and "habit-forming" drugs in general. To this conference the United States sent an able group of delegates. An advisory committee to the conference drew up a carefully prepared report urging the creation by the League of an international board with power to find out what the legitimate needs of each country were and then to fix the amounts which should be grown in the producing countries, as well as the amounts to be exported. Both conferences were failures, largely because the great European powers who control opium-producing countries in the East and derive revenue from them were not willing to accept international control; they were afraid of antagonizing great vested private interests as well as of losing revenue. The United States stood for international control and was the only great nation to do so. It is worth noting, however, that such control can be brought about only by an invasion of the "sacred rights" of private business, which Americans condemn so seriously in Russia, and a surrender of national "sovereign powers" which the United States opposes in the League of Nations.

At present national self-interest and national pride, coupled with the fact that the United States is not a member of the only organization through which there is any hope of dealing with the drug problem, seem to leave the only possible solution, the control of production, outside the realm of practical politics. Ultimately there is no question that a plan similar to that of the advisory committee will be adopted, but in the meantime thousands of unnecessary lives will be sacrificed. Such control, coupled with adequate care for the mentally unbalanced and defective, who fall the most ready victims to this affliction, is the only practical social adjustment. The immediate need is for greater public understanding of the problem.[6]

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[6] Since the above was written the government of India has decidedly cut down its acreage of opium-producing poppies—an indication that the Geneva Conference was not a total failure and a League Commission is helping Persia to find a profitable substitute for poppy-growing.

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CHAPTER XIII

HEALTH AND SOCIETY

Education and Health.—Of all the needed developments in the field of health, education is the most important. In dealing with tuberculosis or venereal infection, cancer or alcoholism, this is apparent, and it is just as true elsewhere. The struggle which mankind has been waging for centuries against disease can never be won without a far greater knowledge by the general public of the many factors which tend toward health or illness than it at present possesses. In spite of the vast areas concerning which medical and social science must still say "ignoramus," there is no question that there is today infinitely more knowledge regarding the cause and prevention of disease than ever before existed. Some method must be devised by the physician and the educator to get this ever-increasing information before the people who are to use it. After all, the fight against illness can never be won by a single profession alone, any more than a war could be won by generals and officers devoid of any army. Just as in warfare the skilled tactician is coming to see that an intelligent soldier is better than a yokel, so in this vastly more important campaign the leaders are beginning to believe that victory will come only when everyone is trying to live by the fundamental rules of health. This will not mean, as some of the less progressive members of the medical profession seem to fear, that there will be less demand for the services of the trained man. In fact the reverse is the case; the more the public knows about disease, the higher the value it will set on research for causation, on the one hand, and on skilled treatment in the inevitable emergency, on the other. We are just entering on an era of general health education, an era which might have come before had the physicians themselves been more far-sighted; they have felt that popularization of their knowledge was beneath them. In this they have not been unique. All scientific fields have suffered from this fear or neglect of popularity; the Tennessee anti-evolution legislation, and quacks and nostrums in the field of medicine, are equally the result of this attitude.

It would not be possible, even if it were desirable, for the man in the street to become an authority on health and disease. That is the study of a lifetime. At the same time it is quite possible that through the schools, the press, and the platform the fundamental fact that the

human body is a mechanism, like other mechanisms, that it has its laws which cannot be violated without penalty, and that for its upkeep and repair certain general methods have been found desirable and others undesirable, and that when it gets out of order the services of experts are necessary, could be enunciated. Such a gospel would do away with the hordes of fakirs who now fatten on human ills, and would free the sick-bed from the savor of the supernatural and occult which still hangs about it. An elementary knowledge of the human structure, its animal origins, its defects, its enemies, and its possible improvement, should be the possession of every graduate of our public school system. Such knowledge is of far greater importance than Latin syntax, or even of the multiplication table. The phenomena of the mind, the fundamental laws of which are simpler than the ordinary layman is inclined to suppose, should find a place in the school curriculum as well. Even an elementary knowledge of the potent forces of suggestion and the phenomena of the unconscious—a knowledge which would not be over the heads of adolescents, at least—would help to explain otherwise inexplicable physical phenomena. And in the same connection, a carefully worked-out statement of the socio-physical phenomena of sex, cleared of emotional content so far as possible and devoid of moral preachment, ought also to be included in the curriculum.

The School as a Health Center.—Education in health should not stop with pedagogy, however. The more progressive schools are already true health-centers, but much more thorough utilization is possible. Complete physical examinations—not mere routine tonsil and adenoid observations, but examinations given by full-time expert pediatrists and psychiatrists, aided by ample clinical facilities, connections with hospitals and specialists, and adequate nursing and follow-up work—would discover in their inception a large proportion of the physical and mental abnormalities which develop to stunt the happiness and usefulness of the adult. Most of these handicaps can be treated far more effectively in childhood than in maturity, and much suffering and inefficiency would be prevented. Cases involving prolonged care could be properly provided for, and mental defectives could be segregated. That this is not mere theory is seen from the work of those communities which even imperfectly and with far too scanty appropriations are now attempting school health work.[1] It is no wonder that Moore calls the school a super-health organization; this is, however, more prophecy than description. The possibilities of the use of the school both as a center of health education and as an all-embracing clinic are unlimited, and there is at present, fortunately, a very general awakening as to these possibilities on the part

[1] See Moore, op. cit., chap. XI.

of educators and the medical profession. The only obstacle in the way is the attitude of the tax-payers. With them again it is education that is needed. If it were only possible for them to see the financial saving, to take no account of the reduction of suffering, which such a step would involve, there is no question as to what their attitude would be.

The State and Health.—According to the Declaration of Independence, the state should guarantee to everyone the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Nothing is so fundamental to any of these conditions as health. Disease takes life, fetters liberty, and renders the pursuit of happiness impossible. All civilized states, and more recently international organizations such as the League of Nations, have recognized to a degree the fundamental responsibility of the political unit for the health of its citizens. Health departments in governments are of comparatively recent origin and owe their beginnings largely to efforts to control and stamp out acute contagious disorders. Many of them still confine their activities to a routine performance of such functions, with a greater or lesser degree of success. More and more, however, people are coming to see that this is not enough. Routine disinfections, quarantines, etc., are not sufficient. More and more state and national health departments are being asked to undertake research problems as to the causes of disease, and educational programs of prevention. Even the provision of public clinics and hospitals is being demanded. That such a task legitimately belongs to the community, scarcely anyone now doubts. Private physicians and agencies have neither the funds nor the necessary standing to undertake anything but limited experiments. The New York State Department of Health on the basis of its own experience affirms that "within natural limits any community can determine its own health rate." That this is true, even a superficial knowledge of what has already been accomplished shows. Here again, however, the obstacle is largely economic. Money can buy health just as it can buy other good things, but as a nation we are not yet ready to pay the price. We still spend two thousand times as much for rural postroads from the federal budget (1923–24) as we do for rural health work, and our 1923–24 budget makes the following illuminating provisions:

U. S. Veterans Bureau (Wounded of Past Wars)	$458,015,264
Navy Department (Preparation for Future Wars)	320,444,432
War Department " " " "	270,486,632
Promotion of Health	15,342,342

While the aggregate amounts spent by the state and local governments are both actually and proportionately larger they are still pitifully small. Moore estimates that in 1922 in the entire country but $44,000-000 was spent. This does not equal the amount spent for chewing gum

or perfumes, and is infinitesimal compared with what we spend each year for drugs and patent medicines, confectionery or tobacco.

The importance of public health work is sometimes unrecognized because most of it is preventive in nature. If the state were able to perform its functions adequately much of the cost of physicians, healers, and nurses, to say nothing of the vast amounts spent for patent medicines, would be obviated. The experience of some sections of Virginia, where effective public health work practically exterminated malaria, at a saving to the tax-payers of thousands of dollars in doctor's bills alone, is a case in point.[2]

Health Insurance.—Ill-health, like old age and accident, is a contingency which can be insured against; at least, the costs of ill-health can thus be met and many of the European nations have inaugurated national systems of health insurance. While state commissions have investigated the subject in the United States, to date no state has taken any official action. It seemed likely in 1920 that New York State would inaugurate a state-wide health insurance system, but at that time the "economy wave" hit the country hard and made the passage of the proposed bill impossible. The experience of European countries has shown that the financial burden of illness can be distributed so that it can more easily be borne. Unfortunately, however, all the European countries, Germany, England, and Denmark especially, have combined health insurance with medical attention, and the combination has not been successful. It has meant that the rate of insurance must be so high that economies have been made in the medical service, which is reduced to a purely perfunctory and routine matter. The best physicians have generally not entered the service.

It is the conclusion of the most thorough students of the European systems that medical attendance and insurance should be divorced. The state should provide public clinics, both free and pay, for wage-earners under the departments of health, while insurance should deal only with the financial aspect of illness. This would make it possible to administer the insurance on a sound actuarial basis so that the contributions from the wage-earners, from their employers, or from the state, could be accurately gaged. Money relief and medical relief should be administered by two altogether separate departments. This was the basis of the recent New York bill, which is the most forward-looking legislation so far proposed in this country.

At present health insurance is provided through fraternal orders, labor unions, employers, and private companies. In all of these cases, except the third, the cost of adequate health insurance is far too high to meet the needs of the class whom it would benefit most. In order

[2] Moore, pp. 415–416.

to meet the situation the fraternal orders and the labor unions either give a very small amount of insurance or give it for only a limited time. The private companies are practically out of the wage-earning field so far as health insurance is concerned. Insurance by employers is opposed by labor unions on the same grounds as the pension system, already discussed in Chapter VIII.

On the whole the present situation is very unsatisfactory in this country. As already noted, ill-health is a prime cause of poverty, and in spite of the example of other countries we have done little to cope with it. There is very little doubt that sooner or later some of the more progressive states will enact legislation providing for state insurance, as well as a more adequate system of medical relief, but at present we lag behind Europe.[3]

Evils of Quackery.— In 1911 the American Medical Association was able to fill two closely printed volumes with accounts of various quacks, faith-healers, patent medicine vendors, etc., who were living —and most of them living very well—on the ills of their fellows. In the discussion of the various specific diseases which constitute social problems, the necessity has been emphasized of more adequate knowledge of disease and its treatment on the part of the general public, so that it might be kept out of the hands of these charlatans. In some states attempts have been made to suppress certain of the more flagrant of these individuals, and their interstate advertising has been limited by the Federal Government. But there are still far too many who manage to live within the law, and as a consequence millions of dollars and thousands of lives are unnecessarily sacrificed every year.

The Patent Medicine.—Of these various forms of exploitation the easiest to attack and perhaps on the whole the most widespread is the so-called "patent medicine." Competent medical science tells us that "there are only about six drugs that are specific for the cure of disease and probably not more than fifty that are necessary in the treatment of human maladies," [4] and yet Moore estimates that there were sold to the people of the United States in 1921 approximately $195,000,000 worth of patent medicines containing various drugs and put up under thousands of different labels. With rare exceptions practically all of these nostrums are either harmful in themselves directly, or indirectly in that they prevent proper and adequate treatment. They are generally sold through advertising—either in the newspapers or on bill boards. Newspaper advertising has decreased in volume in recent years, owing to the campaigns of education which the medical association has conducted, but there is still far too much, particularly

[3] For an adequate discussion of this subject, see Morgan, G., *Public Relief of Sickness*, New York, 1922.

[4] Health, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 55.

in the foreign-language and negro press and the rural papers. Even in the large metropolitan dailies and the magazines it has by no means disappeared. The *Washington Post,* a fairly reputable journal, and not an especial offender as newspapers go, is cited by Moore as having 18 square inches of reliable health information as against 186 square inches of misinformation in its columns advertising such well-known "remedies" as "Mayr's Wonderful Remedy," "S. S. S.," "Dr. Caldwells' Syrup of Pepsin," "Allenrhu," and interviews with the "well-known health advocate, Mrs. Gene Case," who places curves on scrawny anatomies through "Vitamin-stomachic." Such newspaper advertising should be made illegal and newspapers carrying it should be severely dealt with. During the war certain newspapers and magazines which carried statements differing from the official government propaganda were excluded from the mails; the present offence is far more serious. Among the most commonly advertised articles about which "Nostrums and Quackery" gives interesting information are *Doan's Kidney Pills, Nuxated Iron, Tanlac,* and *Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound.* One interesting fact brought out time and time again is that individuals whose names are attached to testimonials have frequently long since died, victims of the very disease of which they claimed the medicine cured them.

Specialists who Advertise.—But it is not only the nostrum vendors who capitalize human sufferings. All sorts of "specialists" make claims through the columns of the press to cure every ill to which flesh is heir without pain and at slight expense. The venereally infected are the particular prey of these quacks, since they avoid the regular practitioner, with his long and expensive treatment and painful prohibitions. But they are not alone; eye-glasses are sold by mail-order, and physical culture beds are advertised for the cure of asthma, floating kidneys, poor circulation, etc., etc. So-called health and physical culture magazines must also be classed among the possible dangers to genuine health. Some of the articles in such magazines are good, others are harmless sermonettes, and some are positively harmful in that they advocate a "royal road" to health. Many of them condemn vaccination, and recommend such devices as a milk-diet and fasting as a cure for syphilis, and the use of a horse-brush on the skin as a counter-irritant for tuberculosis. The fact that such articles appear in company with others that are of a much higher quality really increases the danger. The advertising, too, in these magazines is of the most questionable order. While they generally reject the patent medicines, patent foods, and patent devices, "personal advice" and "individual method" are displayed broadcast. Muscular torsos of famous "strong men" lifting horses and lightly-clad ladies of

attractive outline are the stock in trade of most of these advertisers.[5]

Osteopathy and Chiropractic.—In another group are osteopathy and chiropractic. The former is the older of the two schools; it is based on certain muscular or skeletal adjustments and few reputable osteopaths claim that it cures all diseases. More and more the osteopath uses his specialty in connection with the orthodox forms of medicine. The difficulty with osteopathy is that in the hands of unprincipled practitioners it is used for everything and general treatment is neglected. Chiropractic is an off-shoot of osteopathy and was established by a mesmerist. It has no use for the germ theory of disease or for surgery. Instruction in the chiropractic method is brief, and the whole system is highly commercialized. Instance after instance is given by reputable students where lives have been lost and serious illnesses have resulted from the neglect of proper treatment by ill-trained chiropractors. Owing to the brief period of training and short preparation required and the extensive methods of advertising, chiropractic is growing very fast in the United States. Attempts have been made to restrict or regulate the practice, generally without effect. The vested interest of chiropractors is strong and the gullibility of the ill so great that at present thousands of sick people are being "treated" in that way. Both osteopathy and chiropractic should be subject to a strict scientific analysis and if, as seems probable, most of their claims are found untrue, both their practice and their training should be made illegal. In any event such practitioners should be compelled to pass the standard medical examination before being allowed to practice on the ailing public.

Christian Science and Faith Healing.—Another impediment in the way of scientific treatment of the sick is found in the various brands of so-called "faith-healing" which abound. Faith-healing is not a new phenomenon; it is as old as the medicine-man, and the early history of almost all religions abounds with miracles of healing. Fundamentally all of these types of healing rest on the same basis,—the recognition of the influence of the mind on the body,—and to that extent they have validity. The difficulty is that their practitioners have no way of deciding what types of disease are purely or largely mental, and what mental diseases are subject to suggestion. The development of the field of mental hygiene within medicine itself is an indication that science is recognizing the validity of suggestion.

On the other hand, the antagonism which these cults engender toward scientific research and their alignment with the forces opposed to public health measures such as vaccination, vivisection, etc., have

[5] See Fishbein, M., *Medical Follies,* for an entertaining as well as veracious account of this method of exploitation.

made them a positive danger to social and individual health. The treatment of germ diseases, particularly those of an infectious nature, through Christian Science or faith-healing, is the concern not only of the invalid but of the entire community. Christian Science has had a steady growth, not only in the United States, but in foreign countries as well. The fact that it is a religion as well as a medical practice makes it much harder to deal with through legislation. Education in the fundamentals of physiology and a clear proclamation of the dangers inherent in an indiscriminate application of the faith-healing methods is essential. In this regard the clergy have done yeoman service. It is time for the medical profession and for all intelligent citizens to insist that the state take a firm stand in limiting the range within which faith-healers may practise.

It is the Christian Scientists and faith-healers plus the radical fringe of certain humanitarian movements who are also instrumental in hindering scientific research. The anti-vivisection movement is an excellent case in point.

Scientific Research and Professional Education.—Aside from general education which will make clear to the public the essentials of individual and social health, possibly the next most important social adjustments are the provision of (1) an adequately trained scientific staff of doctors, nurses, and social workers and (2) opportunity for medical and general scientific research. Many physicians are lacking in respect to the social aspects of their work; that is one reason why public health programs have such hard sledding within the profession itself. Ultimately there is little doubt that health service will be municipally or nationally conducted on the same basis as the public school, but that cannot take place until we have a sufficient number of socialized physicians. Moreover, the physician must be able to popularize the results of his investigations. That this is now being done more than ever before is one very great reason for hope. The shortage of nurses is noticeable during any epidemic, and especially in rural districts; it is one great impediment to the spread of the public health nursing program. Equally important is the place of the trained social worker in the health field. Home conditions other than those of health itself must constantly be solved if the health program is to make any headway. In the hospitals the medical social worker has become a recognized agent; and some nurses also are socially trained. Far too many, however, lack the educational background in the social sciences, psychology, and the general cultural subjects to make them effective social workers. Both doctor and nurse distinctly benefit by some knowledge of social-work methods and technique, but just as the social worker cannot be the physician or the nurse, ordinarily neither doctor nor nurse can fill the place

of the social worker. The public health programs also are generally, although not always, better conducted by the social worker or the teacher than by the members of the medical profession.

Hospitalization.—Another important factor is the provision of adequate hospital facilities, particularly in the rural districts which are at present woefully poor in health service of all kinds. This is important not only from the standpoint of treatment but equally so for the opportunity for research that it affords the rural physician. Research on the part of the scientist in the best equipped laboratory and in the field, with the best staff and opportunities that money can buy, is vital, but the keeping up in some line of research of the ordinary practising physician is of equal importance. Money thus spent returns to the community many times over. At present such agencies as the Rockefeller Foundation are doing remarkable work in investigation; but sooner or later the state itself must recognize its obligation in this regard, as well as in the training of physicians.

Conclusions.—Much more might be said on the subject of the social adjustments necessary for health. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that health is a social as well as an individual matter. It is not the concern of a particular group in the community but of all. Poverty, vice, crime, politics, the arts, and all else are vitally tied up with any health program, and any health program is equally tied up with all the other community activities. It is impossible to think of doing away with poverty, for example, without a consideration of disease, or of doing away with disease without regarding the economic life. And adequate recreation is as absolutely vital to a health program, as it is to the right sort of community activity.

It is impossible to apportion the relative importance of health and the other social factors that make up the individual's or the nation's life. All are important, and any attempt at social adjustment which leaves any one out of consideration, or which attempts to deal with them separately, is doomed to failure. What is needed primarily is better teamwork among the various agencies that are at present laboring in different fields, but all striving to increase the welfare of society.

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CHAPTER XIV

SEX AND THE FAMILY

Few topics are the objects of such perennial interest, or of so much confused and confusing writing, as sex. At the same time, there is no social maladjustment which creates problems requiring such careful handling as those which center about sex. It is not the intention here to go into any lengthy discussion of the fundamental issues involved, but rather to point out what the problems are and what seem to be possible adjustments. First it is necessary to give a brief account of the reasons why sex itself presents more problems today than it has in many previous periods of human history.

Sex Exploitation.—Society has classified the various sex problems in different ways, under the captions of "morality," "feminism," "women in industry," "divorce," "prostitution," and so forth. These various manifestations of disturbed social situation are what come to the surface, but the problem underlying them all is the age-old one of exploitation—unconscious, but exploitation just the same,—of one group by another. The reason why these problems are more acute today than in the immediate past is that slowly, but increasingly, the exploited group are becoming aware of their exploitation, as well as securing a voice. It is not at all true that women are worse off today than they have been in times past, or that men are exploiting them more, but revolutions do not always come when conditions are at their worst, but rather when the oppressed group grows intelligent enough to realize its wrongs.

Sex and Taboo.—Sex is slowly emerging from the shadow of taboo. Just as the medicine-man was able to exploit the rest of the population under the guise of the supernatural, so man through making sex something in a definite way connected with the supernatural, and under divinely established taboos, has exploited woman. Apparently this was not at all the case in Egypt at the time of its greatness, and other striking exceptions may be found; but in varying degrees, it has been well-nigh universal in modern society. (Parenthetically it may be well to note that in this whole discussion "ever" should be understood to mean "ever" in western civilization.) Such exploitation has been mainly unconscious, and where conscious has been compensated for through such concessions as "chivalry," an acknowledgment of superior virtue, etc. Other less gallant defenders of the existing order have

attempted scientific justifications, claiming that woman is inferior in mental and physical powers; but recent psychological tests have disproved this, at least as regards mental ability. So far, physical attributes have scarcely received a fair test in civilized society, since woman has rarely if ever been given an opportunity for equal physical training. In savage society there seems to be little difference.

The problems of sex are showing themselves today because the decay of superstition and taboo in religion has been followed by slower but equally important decay in the beliefs regarding sex. Sex problems have always existed, and some of them, like prostitution, have received considerable recognition, but hitherto few of them have been treated openly and frankly just as other social ills are treated.

The Double Standard.—Among the older problems concerned with sex is that of illicit relationships carried on by the male, his female partner being the prostitute. In a preceding chapter prostitution has been dealt with at some length, and it is not necessary to go over that ground again. For many generations it has been perfectly in accord with the moral standard of the community that the male, whether married or unmarried, should be allowed a considerable freedom in satisfying his sex appetite. The justice of such a standard has been questioned from time to time by some men and many women, but it is only in comparatively recent years, under the stress of our increasing knowledge of the serious effects of venereal diseases, on the one side, and the growing assertiveness of woman, on the other, that such questionings have become audible. Virtue and virginity are still interchangeable terms in respect to unmarried women. A woman who has once transgressed the code, if her transgression becomes known, is socially an outcast, while her own brothers and male friends who commit far more serious offenses are received in the best society.

Public opinion has not yet risen to the point where it feels that it can do away with the prostitute, but it has got far beyond Lecky's contention of less than a century ago, that the prostitute was the defender of the happy home. By her vicarious sacrifice, he claimed, she saved thousands of innocent women from the ravages of male passion. Society is coming to believe that there is no essential difference between the sexes in this regard and that the same standard of sexual morality should be exacted of both sexes, both before and after marriage. Great sections of society have not accepted the single standard, but as it is fast becoming the code of the more enlightened and intellectual, as well as of the more advanced religious groups, there is every reason to believe that ultimately it will be incorporated in the mores.

The "single standard," however, is not as simple as it sounds. It was at first thought by most of its advocates that it would mean the

adoption by men of the ideal which they had always held up to women, and which women had been compelled by social pressure to adopt,—viz., absolute chastity before marriage, and after marriage no sexual relations outside the marriage bond. These reformers assumed that the purity of women was instinctive and inalienable, and they overlooked the fact that there was always a considerable number of women who for one reason or another even under social pressure had rejected the conventional attitude. It has been found rather difficult to bring sufficiently potent social force to bear on the man, and while he is becoming somewhat more ready to admit that he has no right to exact a differing morality from women than he expects to observe himself, the solution appears to be a compromise which results in a lowering of the standard for women to some degree, while it raises the average standard for men. In other words, sex morality is slowly coming to be considered a rational matter. This leaving behind of accepted standards has created problems for men and women alike. For the man, in addition to a stricter code of morality, which is not always easy of attainment, there has been added the very difficult adjustment to the newer standard for women. His education has not prepared him for this adjustment and the result is a constant conflict between what he theoretically considers fair and just, and what his inherited social standards have taught him to expect.

Sex Education.—What is needed more than anything else is a new type of education for both men and women, but particularly for men. In some way man must be brought to realize that woman's nature and his own are essentially the same; and that even if there are slight differences the new woman will demand the same freedom as he demands. That need not mean that the standard of sex morality for women will retrogress until it equals that which man has long maintained for himself. Undoubtedly there will be a temporary loosening of some of the restrictions—many of them good in themselves—with which woman has been hedged about. What will ultimately happen, —what education should hasten—is a gradual acceptance by both man and woman of the fundamental rule that each individual has the right to the disposal of his or her own body, based on the best knowledge available and on a consideration not only of his or her individual happiness, but also of the well-being of society as a whole and of the group to which they owe closest allegiance. This will not for any long period mean "free love," although it must mean that love shall be free. In any event love cannot be compelled by law or customs; it must rest fundamentally on mutual respect and consideration, far more than on animal attraction. A rational consideration of sex by both men and women, and a clearing away of much of the debris which romanticism as well as supernatural taboo and antiquated re-

ligion has accumulated, can make this possible. Then, and only then, can we have a relationship between the sexes which approaches the ideal.

Despite any excesses of the present, it is the firm belief of the writer that this is the goal toward which society is progressing. Progress is faster with the women than with the men. With the men, therefore, education is the more needed. As with so many other of our basic problems, education is the only way out. It should make clear that,—to adapt Lincoln's words,—society cannot permanently exist half slave and half free.

Changes in Sex Morality.—Much is written and spoken nowadays regarding the decay of morality. This is not a new theme; Job lamented the evil days in which he lived and sighed for the "good old times." The word "flapper" may be new, but the idea it conveys is old; it represents the revolt of the young against the conventions of their elders. It is accentuated today because owing to the emancipation of women, girls are revolting as obviously and perhaps as blatantly as boys.

There are no reliable data as to the extent of sex immorality in the world, and consequently all the Jeremiahs of the twentieth century are basing their songs of woe merely on impressions. There is no indication whatever that sex irregularity is more common in the present generation than in those which have preceded it; indeed some indications point the other way. Prostitution, as already stated, is certainly less common today than it was for centuries, and the passing of the double standard has brought it into far worse repute. Whether or not there is more sex irregularity among either single or married people nowadays, is absolutely unknown. The decline of venereal disease may be due to the increased knowledge as well as to lessened exposure, but it would seem to imply a decrease in immorality.

The frequent castigations inflicted on modern dress, and on the freedom of intercourse between the young of both sexes, point to the fact that the elders, at least, believe them conducive to immorality; but there is no positive evidence of it. On the whole, the freedom with which sex is discussed and the more common knowledge regarding it, as well as a removal of the inhibitions which an impurity complex saddled on society a few generations ago, point to a lessening of the dangers of sex immorality rather than to their increase; ignorant and self-conscious boys and girls are in moral danger, rather than the sophisticated ones.

One exception may be made to this general statement. There is little question that since prohibition has come into existence there is more drinking among young boys and girls, particularly the latter. The pocket flask is largely responsible for this state of affairs, and

combined with the universal automobile has in certain circles increased the moral dangers which threaten the young. This situation may be only transitory; it may become less fashionable to violate the prohibition law. In any event increased freedom and more accurate knowledge of sex matters which will banish the "impurity complex" are things to be commended rather than condemned. Whatever may be the case in the transition period from Victorian hypocrisy to twentieth century honesty in sex matters, there is no indication that the ultimate result will be anything but wholesome.

In regard to sex irregularity among older people, again there are no facts to deal with—simply highly colored individual interpretations. The prevalence of divorce is used by the protagonists of the "older and better days" as a strong argument, but that means little or nothing. Apparently sexual irregularity of males, at least, was as common, probably more common, under the old regime of silence and suppression. In any event, if there is no exploitation of the young or spreading of disease, the matter of sex morality among persons of mature years is an individual affair, each case to be judged on its own merits. As long as no injury is done to either party and society itself does not suffer, it is hard to see why society should interfere. The absolute uselessness of much of the legislation against fornication and adultery is a case in point. In this realm particularly the wisdom of the statement that neither nations nor individuals can be made moral by legislation is open to no question. Society has a duty to protect the young, and to prevent the spread of disease; beyond that social idealism rather than legal pressure must be relied on.

The Newer Education.—In the preceding paragraphs, as well as in those on venereal disease, emphasis has been laid on the necessity for sex education. There is no question that the sex urge is one of the most powerful in society; there is equally no question that until recently the ignorance regarding sex was appalling. Fortunately this ignorance is beginning to be dispelled. Parents, churches, and schools are coming to realize the necessity of discussing sex just as they discuss freely the other problems of life. Gradually the taboos are being lifted, but still with too portentous a gravity. Parents, teachers, and religious workers do not have enough knowledge to give out the right sort of information, and they themselves are still too deeply impressed with the emotional content of sex to discuss it freely in the language of the day; they still suffer from the impurity complex under which they grew up.

There is much discussion as to whether the home, the church, or the school is the proper place for sex education. The answer of the writer is that all three should be used, but that the major responsibility must rest with the home and the school. Religion is largely tied up

with emotional life and the further sex is removed from emotional consideration the more freely it can be discussed. The home is the ideal place for sex instruction, just as it is the ideal place for most other instruction, and for the young child it is essential. Unfortunately most parents are ill equipped to give accurate and rational information on sex, and for some time to come, at least, the school,—from the grades through the college—must do much to shoulder the burden. Here comes the difficulty that our teachers also are unprepared, and many of them are woefully ignorant. The necessity for male teachers and for married women in the public school systems is obvious. Heretofore, much sex education has dealt with the disease side of morality, attempting to frighten children into virtue. Thoughtful people are coming to see that the fear of venereal disease, like the fear of hell, is no way of keeping people "good." What is needed is a matter-of-fact consideration of the body mechanism and the social and psychological implications of physical differences in sex. Above all else secrecy and emotion must be outlawed in sex discussions; the idea that there is something holy in sex, linking it up with religion, must go. Much sex teaching, also, can be carried on indirectly; over-emphasis is as bad as omission.

The key-note of sex education rests on the recognition that while sex is essential to life, and knowledge of sex to a healthy and happy existence, it is only one among many other important physical functions and factors. A study of the genito-urinary system is no more and no less important than that of the alimentary canal; and a study of the social phenomena based on sex,—family, sex attraction, etc., —equals, but does not exceed, that of the effects of the Industrial Revolution or of the capitalistic system. All are vital; but none has more of the mysterious or the "untouchable" attached to it than any other. A rational attitude toward sex on the part of the instructor, whether parent, teacher, or minister, is the essential foundation of all good sex education.

In the judgment of the writer, sex education, wherever possible, should be given co-educationally. The separation of girls and boys in itself produces an abnormal atmosphere; and the more normal the atmosphere, the easier it is to keep the subject rational. It will take a long time to overcome the impurity complex which Pauline Christianity and Victorian prudery have implanted in the peoples of Europe and America; but it is being done. When it is finally forgotten sex education will become as unemotional and as practical as dietetics.

Psycho-analysis and Sex.—The recent discoveries of the psychologists, particularly the psycho-analytic group, have thrown new light on the problems both of sex and of sex education. The basis of the conflicts which the Freudians discover in individuals are in the opinion

of the extremists entirely sexual in origin. Sex is used in the widest possible sense to include the attraction between parent and child, as well as between adult individuals. While many eminent psychologists do not accept all the conclusions of the sage of Vienna, all agree that irrational repressions do a great deal of harm, particularly in childhood. Neither Freud nor his followers believe that the sexual passion should be ungoverned by social laws; but they maintain rather that the individual should understand his own passions and then make an intelligent attempt at control. Here again we are brought face to face with the necessity of freedom in sex matters. Shame is respect to bodily functions, undue modesty, an over-emphasis on sexual responses in childhood, as well as unnecessary and subconscious inhibitions in adult life, lie at the root of not only sexual perversion but of many a less striking social shipwreck. There is no question but that the discoveries of these psycho-analysts, with their extreme position somewhat modified, are entering into community consciousness with beneficial results. This is not the place to discuss in detail the contributions to social adjustment of this school. That it has made and will make great contributions the author is convinced, so much so that he urges on both teacher and student a thoughtful reading of some of the better summaries of the psycho-analytic theory, several of which are listed at the end of this chapter. A general understanding of some of the outstanding psycho-analytic conceptions will do much to make clear the problems of sex, and to prepare the way for necessary adjustments to overcome them.

Eugenics.—Since eugenics is directly concerned with mating and the production of offspring, it also is concerned with sex. Negative eugenics, which concerns the limitation of the production of the unfit, has been discussed in the chapter dealing with the feeble-minded. Here it may be added that a rational conception of sex would unquestionably make a sterilization of defectives less abhorrent.

Positive eugenics, which is concerned with the increase of birth-rate of the more desirable classes, is scarcely a sex matter: the chief obstacle to larger families is economic. This does not apply to the very wealthy, who are numerically negligible, but it is emphatically true of the great middle class from which the bulk of the best stock comes. The intelligent eugenist does not advocate families so large as to be open to objection on other grounds, but confines his propaganda to raising the standard from one or two children to three or four. Economic and social incentives to early marriage would unquestionably help, as the earlier the marriage the greater the probability of larger families. Education in sex matters would almost certainly mean earlier marriages, and emphasis on the social returns of parenthood

would aid. On the whole, however, there is little that society can do to increase the number of the fit, except on the economic side.

Education for the professions is becoming increasingly long, thus delaying the marriage of the most intelligent classes in the population, and the remuneration is comparatively small and slow in coming. Increased scholarships for students in professional schools, taking into account the desirability of matrimony, would be a practical step. In America a more coöperative attitude on the part of well-to-do parents toward their married children would unquestionably increase the birth-rate in this class. The European custom of the dowry has much to commend it from a eugenic standpoint.

Birth-control.—Emphasis has already been laid on the desirability of knowledge regarding healthful methods of birth-control. There is no question that birth-control is generally practised among the upper classes. Rational sex-education would remove the taboo on birth-control discussion as well as on prohibitive legislation. As a matter of fact the attitude toward birth-control is definitely and rapidly changing. At present—1926—a committee of the American Medical Association is conducting an investigation of birth-control methods, and other groups are making efforts to remove prohibitive legislation from the statute books. The ethics of birth-control and population limitation have been discussed elsewhere.

Woman and Industry.—The presence of woman in industry is not a recent phenomenon, whatever the scareheads in the newspapers may claim. Primitive and savage women have always borne a heavy burden outside the home, and the present-day emergence of woman from its four walls to play what has been considered a "man's part" in the world is but the resumption of the normal condition of affairs, rather than a new and distressing phenomenon. It has been only since the Industrial Revolution took industry away from the home and concentrated it in large factories that there has been even a pretense of separation. Our own great-grandmothers of colonial days, in spite of their large families and the traditional aura of domestic virtue which surrounds them in current histories, have been shown by recent researches to have carried on all sorts of outside occupations, even going so far as to conduct blacksmith's shops and alehouses.[1] The Industrial Revolution for a time interrupted this traditional partnership between man and woman in industry, but with the gradual improvement in technical contrivances and their tardy extension into the home, the Revolution itself made a full turn and brought women back into industry. The difference is that this time the industry is largely outside the home, and there is an apparent conflict between

[1] Dexter, E. A., *Colonial Women of Affairs*, Boston, 1924.

the duties of woman as mistress of the home and as a partner in industry.

The Unmarried Woman in Industry.—This conflict, however, is strictly limited. In the first place, it does not apply to the unmarried woman who has no home to preside over, and generally speaking it hardly applies to the childless woman, even though married. In the latter case, modern labor-saving devices have made her home duties so light that the temptation is strong to fritter away her time in what Veblen aptly calls "conspicuous waste," as an advertisement of her husband's financial position. From the point of view of social service, there is no reason why this relatively large group should not form an important addition to the country's labor supply.

Gloomy conservatives, both male and female, object even to this amount of participation by women, and on the surface there appears some ground for their objections. If, they say, unmarried women participate in industry and receive satisfactory remuneration therefrom, they will hesitate to enter the married state. To a certain extent this is a true statement of the case. At least, there is no longer any reason why a competent woman should marry for a meal ticket. Looking at marriage, however, from the point of view of its contribution to the happiness of both parties involved, as well as a genuine mating of like-minded free individuals who will found a suitable home in which to bring up children, this is a long step forward. The woman who marries for support has not much to distinguish her ethically from the woman who utilizes her sex as a means of livelihood in less respectable channels. Undoubtedly the opportunity for self-support prevents many women from marrying, at least at a given time, but in the main these would be undesirable marriages. The primary motive back of marriage should be other than economic.

In the main the same argument holds in regard to the childless woman. It has been urged that many women voluntarily remain childless because they are financially better off. In some cases this is true. To love and to be loved, however, is one of the most fundamental needs of human nature, and for most normal people this need is best gratified in parenthood.

The Employment of Mothers.—There remains the question of employment of the woman with children, and here the battle rages most fiercely. If throughout our industrial system we uniformly followed a policy of non-employment of mothers, the present agitation against it in certain occupations might be better understood. But from the very beginning of the Industrial Revolution the capitalistic system has employed thousands of mothers for long hours in occupations that were necessarily in competition with their home duties, and under conditions about which the less said the better. Indeed, the efforts

of social workers have almost entirely been directed toward ameliorating the conditions of these women workers, and so far as possible removing them from industry, and these efforts have not infrequently been opposed by the very people who now in another sphere are doing their best to prevent the employment of women. The position of male-dominated capitalistic society to date can be best described by saying that it is glad to avail itself of the services of women in low-paid unskilled positions, but it objects very strenuously to the competition of women in the better paid skilled and professional employments. The claim that it is for the protection of motherhood can on the whole be dismissed as rationalization, since only a small fraction of mothers are included in this protection.

What, then, is a reasonable position to take toward the employment of women with children in industry and the professions? In the first place, each case must be judged on its own merits. In the main it can be justly argued that while children are young most mothers are fully employed in caring for the home and the children, and that for most mothers with young children, outside employment is probably undesirable. Even here there are many exceptions; the type, hours, and location of employment, the capacity of the woman in caring for her children, etc., as well as the employment and attitude of the father, but the general rule probably holds good. It should hold equally good for all classes. If the welfare of society demands that most mothers with young children in one class should devote their whole time to their care, it should demand it through the entire social scale. With the development of the kindergarten and the public school, however, the full-time job of motherhood is frequently over when the children reach five or six years of age, or even earlier. Many women whose tastes and training run to domestic occupations can readily fill the time with economically and socially useful tasks inside the home. Others with different tastes and previous experience are more useful and happy outside. Society is injuring itself and injuring the woman when it prevents her leading a life of the greatest usefulness. Unquestionably the employment of women with children will tend in some cases to keep families small; but in most of these cases, if the mother were not working, economic pressure would have the same effect. On the other hand employment of mothers will encourage capable and talented women to marry and to have children, as in doing so they need not put an end to their career.

Some people fear that difference in employment will cause conflicts between husband and wife. The question of domicile of the family might conceivably be perplexing, but with absolute equality and a fair give-and-take between the two people involved, there is no reason why this situation should not be adjusted as other domestic problems are.

Even when only the husband is employed, the question of domicile is often complicated by considerations of health, education of children, social opportunities, and nearness to relatives. In some ways, the location of the home would be of less importance if the wife herself had an occupation outside of it. Questions of relative contributions to the family up-keep, and to the necessary work around the home, will also come up, but they also can be left to the good sense of fair-minded people. On the other hand, the intellectual comradeship between husband and wife, and the greater contribution which the latter can make to the bringing-up of the children, not only financially but through first-hand contacts with outside affairs, go far to offset some of these real or imagined difficulties.

Another objection comes from men and unmarried women to the effect that married women, being sure of some support from their husbands, will undercut other workers who are dependent on their own earnings. This is sometimes true; indeed, it is true with respect to all women workers in relation to men. More and more, however, the slogan of equal pay for equal work is coming to be recognized, not as an ideal but a reality, and in this respect the married woman can, if she chooses, be a pioneer. She can bargain with a greater sense of independence than the single woman. Indeed, some employers have already found this to be the case.

Furthermore the question of dependence is not by any means entirely one of sex. There are thousands of women workers who are the main support of families, just as there are other thousands of men who have no one but themselves to look after. In Europe tentative experiments are being made in regard to a family wage in industry. Briefly, the employer pays a basic wage, sufficient for individual maintenance, and in addition pays the state a sum based on the number of his employees from which the state pays the individual in proportion to his or her dependents. France has been a pioneer in this undertaking. Such a procedure would satisfactorily meet the argument as to wage competition between the sexes in industry. In the professional and skilled occupations the movement for pay based on work performed, not on sex, should be aided by far-seeing employers of labor. Educational institutions have been particular sinners in this respect,—even institutions of higher learning. With the growth of professional solidarity in America it is to be hoped that the professions, along with the labor unions, will adopt and enforce the labor union slogan previously referred to of "Equal work for equal pay."

Divorce

The crowning evil to which the modern Jeremiahs point with horror is the prevalence of divorce. That divorce is and has been on the

increase in Western Europe and America for the past half-century, is established beyond a doubt. It is scarcely necessary to quote statistics; one meets them full-face in every book dealing, however remotely, with social problems. From 1890 to 1922 the divorce-rate in the United States has climbed from 6.1 to 13.1 per 100 marriages, and from 53 to 136 divorces per 100,000 of the population. These are only the complete divorces; to these should be added almost as many more separations, which socially are just as serious.

The outcry against divorce in America is at least as old as the Civil War. In Europe, particularly in England, there has also been an increase in divorce, though no country in the world grants as many divorces or has increased the proportion of divorces as much as our own. Divorce in Protestant countries is more frequent than in Catholic owing to the attitude of the church, and since the United States is predominantly Protestant this is one explanation.

Within the United States one finds a striking difference in the amount of divorce among the states, depending almost entirely on the state law. South Carolina grants no divorces at all, and other states which, like New York, grant divorce for adultery only have very low divorce-rates, while still others, particularly those in the Far West which allow divorce easily, have very high rates. The rates are generally higher in the cities than in the country, although a large proportion of Catholics tends to lower the rate in some cities. The United States Census Bureau Report in 1916 showed that nearly 70 per cent of the divorces were granted to the wife; this figure is not as important as it might seem, however, because a very considerable number of divorces are made by agreement, and in these it is considered "the proper thing" for the woman to obtain the decree. Another striking fact is that in over half of the cases where divorce was granted in America there were no children.

What Divorce Means.—It is difficult to separate the causes of divorce from those which lie at the bottom of all unhappy matings. Indeed, generally speaking they are the same, and the unfortunate fact is that for every mismating which leads to the divorce court there are several which continue in the bonds of wedlock. Since there is no reason to believe that marriages are any more happy in countries and states where divorce is difficult to obtain, the divorce index itself is no indication of the proportion of successful or unsuccessful marriage relationships; it is rather an index of the extent to which society recognizes the existence of intolerable family conditions and provides for their mitigation. While, therefore, much may be said for the moralists who bewail the increase of divorce, it should be clearly recognized that divorce itself is not the social problem to be dealt with, but rather the underlying factors which cause unhappy mar-

riages. Divorce can be dealt with by law and by custom; any state may define the terms on which divorce will be granted and may make them as strict as it wishes, but this in no way will affect the underlying situation, unless to make it worse. For every case where relative ease of divorce may make people less careful about embarking on the sea of matrimony, there will be a dozen others where a denial of divorce, or even very strict divorce, will result in homes which are permanently unhappy and consequently unfit either for adults or for children. Furthermore it can hardly be doubted that strict divorce, or none, tends to increase immorality and prostitution. It is at the causes of the unwise and unhappy marriages, therefore, rather than at the divorce laws, that the efforts of social reformers should be directed.

There is no question that divorce causes unhappiness and suffering, especially to children; but there is equally no question that continuing married relationships between individuals who have no love or esteem or even respect is even more damaging. There is no need to go behind the sorry scenes which are enacted in divorce courts and describe the types of suffering which exist in such cases and in many others; they are sufficiently familiar through the daily press. The important thing for the student of society is to ascertain the causative factors, and see what, if anything, can be done to change them. Society is indebted to the prevalence and publicity of divorce for calling attention to ills which have long existed in comparative silence.

Causes of Divorce.—Statistics have been carefully tabulated for many communities, states, and nations, showing what the legal causes for divorce are over considerable periods. They vary naturally according to the local laws, but generally speaking, adultery, desertion, cruelty, drunkenness, and neglect to provide, are the legal grounds. Adultery and desertion are most commonly met with, since these are the ones most commonly allowed by law. As a matter of fact these grounds mean very little; indeed, so little that not infrequently one or the other partner to an unhappy marriage commits adultery or deserts in order that the other may secure a divorce; strict legal codes encourage individuals to commit offenses in order to secure legal relief from an unhappy situation.

Certain changes in social attitudes undoubtedly have increased the number of divorces—although not the number of unhappy marriages; indeed, there is no reason to believe that more marriages are unhappy now than formerly. In the first place, woman is economically independent to a greater degree than has been the case for a long time. Consequently she is not obliged to marry for support, or to remain married if conditions become intolerable. The church and the customary methods of social control, also, are less effective in

family life than hitherto. Status is less affected by changes in marital conditions, owing to the increasing mobility of modern society and particularly the conditions of city life. What Professor Cooley calls the "face to face" group is losing its hold on the individual, and he, and particularly she, reacts to a condition of greater independence. Goldsmith said that when lovely woman stooped to folly death was her only recourse. He might have said the same with equal truth of the woman, lovely or unlovely, who found herself in an intolerable marriage; unable to earn a living, cast out by society, excommunicated, deprived of her children, what did life offer her! She usually endured the unendurable and remained in wedlock. Nowadays she can demand her rights as an individual, and if her husband refuses at least a minimum of these, she can ask the state to set her free.

Causes of Unhappy Marriages

In these days of psycho-analysis much professional jargon is written and read on this subject; some of it nothing but jargon and some sound commonsense. In the section that follows, the attempt will be made to dispense with difficult terms and to deal with the practical aspects of the situation.

Hasty Marriage Ceremony.—A secondary rather than a primary cause of marital incompatibility may be considered first—that is, the hasty or ill-advised marriage. In the more settled societies of the Old World marriage is considered a serious step, one not to be undertaken without proper consideration, not only by the two individuals, but by their social groups also. One result of this attitude is the announcement of the "banns" still considered essential in the Catholic communion. This is generally made at least two weeks before the intended marriage and is frequently repeated on successive Sundays. While this gives to the church a certain control which has been objected to by extreme secularizers, it has a definite social value. For one thing it prevents extreme haste, and invests the marriage itself with seriousness. In the United States we have replaced the religious banns, common in colonial days, with the civil license, which is usually given without any investigation to anyone who applies to the authorities. In 1919 only eight states required advance notice, and the maximum period was five days. In only one state, Wisconsin, was public posting of the notice required, and only two states made any provision for the filing of objections.[2] While laws can do little to prevent unhappy marriages, they can at least provide an opportunity for second thought; a possible step in this direction would be the enactment of legislation providing not only for a reasonable in-

[2] Hall, F. S., *American Marriage Laws*, pp. 36–37.

terval between the issuing of the license and the performance of the ceremony, but also for notice to parents and guardians on both sides, regardless of the age of the parties. Although there are no statistics to show the results of hasty marriages, experience indicates that on the whole they are less successful than those more carefully considered. Runaway marriages of young people are made either under the influence of a wildly romantic attachment, or nowadays even of partial intoxication. Ministers are peculiarly to blame when they lend the sanction of religion to Gretna Green marriages; they make the marriage ceremony a mere travesty. So far as civil officers licensed to perform marriages are concerned, laws are necessary; but for ministers —and most marriages in this country are religious—it ought only to be necessary to call their attention to the dangers of marrying unknown people. One or two of the Protestant denominations and many of the Catholic clergy refuse to officiate under such circumstances. This attitude should be universal, and is at least as desirable as the reform of the divorce laws which the clergy persistently urge.

Child Marriage.—A recent study by Richmond and Hall estimated that there were living in the United States in 1925 no less than 667,000 persons who had begun their married life as child brides or the husbands of child brides.[3] Such figures are appalling when they are followed, as they are in this study, with the case-records of several hundreds of such marriages, *every one* of which, without exception, was a failure, bringing in its train immorality, crime, suffering, annulment, divorce, and unwanted parenthood. The situation is one which cannot be ignored by any serious student of social problems. Such marriages are brought about in many ways; either through ignorance or deliberate disobedience of the law by state and local officials, the connivance of parents, or an utter disregard of both legal and social obligations by all concerned. Sometimes these child marriages occur when girls are eleven or twelve years of age. In addition to the number listed above, is a smaller group in which boys are married to women many years their senior. In general either the one or the other of the parties to such marriages is a victim, willing or unwilling, to the other's lust or cupidity.

The results given are what must logically be expected; and the wonder is that a civilized society has so long allowed such a mockery of one of the most serious events of life. Physiologically and socially the marriage of boys under eighteen and girls under sixteen is criminal, and should constitute a legal crime as well, and in many cases the age might well be increased. Aside from taking care of themselves, such individuals are in no way fitted for the serious duties of parenthood.

[3] Richmond and Hall, *Child Marriages,* p. 58. For a complete statement of the situation the reader is advised to read this little book.

In dealing with this situation the first step is the enactment of legislation raising the age at which marriage is possible to a minimum consonant at least with that at which children may leave school and secure working papers. Further than that, the consent of parents and guardians should always be secured, and proper notification allowed for; and since parents and guardians are not always careful, the consent of the state, represented by the Juvenile Court, should be necessary up to the age of the court's jurisdiction in criminal cases. Licensing officials should be required under stringent penalties to see that birth certificates or other *reliable* documents are filed for all marriage licenses, not simply accepting the affidavits of the applicants or of the parents, as is the case now.

Another evil which is most common in this connection is deliberate disregard of the age restriction in cases of pregnancy. This is under the assumption that marriage is always the best thing in such cases, an assumption which is not borne out by experience. The state and the individuals alike should be obligated to take a long-time rather than a short-time view of marriage and the founding of a family.

It might seem to the casual glance that it would be comparatively simple to put a stop to so shocking an evil, but this is not the case. Parents who wish to rid themselves of care or even, in extreme cases, sell their children, pimps and panders who use marriage as a means of securing recruits for prostitution, licensing officials who wish to avoid responsibility or secure additional fees, and above all the indifference of the general public and the reflected indifference of legislators, must all be dealt with. Here, too, if half of the sound and fury which is let loose against the evil of divorce were devoted to a study of this unquestionable ill and the methods of eliminating it, the result would be much more valuable.

The Marriage of Defective and Diseased Persons.—This again is a practical problem, rather than an underlying condition. Unquestionably much marital unhappiness is caused by the mental or physical defect of one or both parties concerned. In 1919, according to Hall and Brook's study, nineteen states had no restrictions on marriage for individuals suffering from physical or mental disabilities, and in the states having such restrictions they were usually not enforced. Generally a statement under oath by the applicant that he was mentally or physically sound was sufficient, and in only four states was a physician's certificate required. A most important step forward would be the universal requirement of a certificate from a responsible medical man, and the prohibition of marriage to the mentally defective and the insane.

Differences in Background.—Serious as the types of cases just discussed are, they concern only a small proportion of the total number

of marriages. Probably a greater aggregate of unhappiness is due to some less spectacular causes which may be grouped under the heading of radically different background. Difference in age is a cause of difficulty in many cases, although this by no means always produces unhappiness. Here there is the difference of background, due to education and training in different generations, plus definite physiological difference. The fact that

> "in over forty per cent of the divorce cases studied in the Cincinnati Court of Domestic Relations there was a difference of five years or more between the ages of husband and wife, while the usual proportion of such difference is only about twelve per cent" has some significance.[4]

But age is not the only cause of difference in background. Differences in education, in social standing, in religion, and in race, are all fraught with danger to the permanency of marriage. Marriage is a fragile plant at best, and the more points of common interest between the two parties the better the chances of survival. On the other hand, the wider the difference the greater the danger. Romantic love and poetry have idealized "true love," disregarding everything else. But a sober study of family life convinces a clear-eyed observer that romantic love alone is a poor foundation on which to build that most important of all human institutions, a family. Even if the two parties themselves are willing to forget their past experiences, an impossibility in itself, there are relatives and friends on both sides who are unwilling that they should. Although families can exist by themselves, the new family which is buttressed by the sympathy and encouragement of the two groups from which it sprang is in a far stronger position; this help from one side or the other, and perhaps from both, is frequently missing if the differences in background are too great.

Regarding inter-racial marriage there is much to be said from the point of view of society as a whole, but little from that of the individuals concerned. With differences in race as between negro and white, the dangers are almost insuperable,—not only differences in race and background, but also the inevitable fact that the children, not in the least to blame, must suffer. This is not a matter, however, that should be regulated by law. The law, in this case as in others, should provide for delay and opportunity for reflection and persuasion by friends and relatives, but prohibition leads only to evasion and illicit relationships. Where the difference is less great, as between the various nationalities, there is less objection. Nevertheless marriages between people from differing national groups have elements of danger and need special consideration. The danger, however, is caused less

[4] Queen, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

by differences in nationality as such, than by the religious and social differences which usually accompany nationality.

In America religious differences are particularly important in causing friction. The Roman Catholic Church has taken a definite stand against such marriages. Where religious differences are fundamental and basic to the individual's whole philosophy of life there is much to be said against "mixed" marriages. Absolute prohibition is not desirable, but it is imperative that the parties should carefully consider the step they are taking from every angle, and both Protestant and Catholic churches would do well to urge delay. A study made by the writer some years ago of cases of dependents in a typical American city showed a far larger proportion of mixed marriages than the proportion in the population. Such marriages invite not only difficulties of personal adjustment but usually the hostility of friends and relatives. Hence disaster is frequent.

Another difference, perhaps due to race, custom, and background, which is at the root of many divorces, is a difference in sex mores and appetite. This is known by students of divorce as sex antagonism, and in all but three of 100 cases studied by Hornell Hart in Cincinnati it appeared to be at the root of the trouble. Queen reports that many cases of cruelty, abuse, neglect, and incompatibility, are really due to sex antagonism, and this seems to be the general consensus of opinion of many psycho-analysts. Much of this is purely physiological in its origin, but far more is psychological, and due more to previous experience, education, and inherited mores than to purely physical factors. In any event men and women considering matrimony ought to take such factors frankly into consideration, whether inherent or acquired. In these days of open and frank discussion it is important for each to know something of the other's ideals in sex matters before marriage. In this as in other matters, as far as possible neither party should enter marriage in ignorance.

Economic Maladjustment.—Economic factors also play a large part in causing unhappy marriages. Less than is commonly supposed, however, are there breaks over the division of income. In the poorer classes particularly, the pay envelope is frequently handed over to the wife and she allocates the expenditure. In the higher social groups the problem does not usually arise from the niggardliness of the man; it is rather that the total income is insufficient. Often the woman was employed before marriage with a fairly large income, and adopted a standard of living for which her husband's earnings alone are scarcely adequate; the attempt to maintain a higher standard than there is money enough to provide, ends in disaster. The remedy for this situation lies in the continued employment of the woman after marriage, and in what a few pioneers are calling the professionalization

of home life. This not only gives a greater income, but also meets many other domestic problems. The typical family home is still "a combined laundry, bakery, and nursery with a rooming-house attachment besides educational and recreational facilities," and few women are competent to conduct all these activities. Society is coming to realize that for the sake of the family itself, the employment of women with the consequent opportunity to utilize trained service and modern mechanical equipment in the home, is a solution of some of its problems—and not alone the economic ones. That there are periods, particularly when children are very young, when this may not be possible, must be faced by all prospective wives and mothers, but that those periods are short, and that in the long run not only the father and mother, but the children as well, gain by a different arrangement, is increasingly evident. There is still a long way to go . Industry must offer more in the way of part-time employment and mechanical devices and trained professional services, but the way is plain. The greatest single objection is purely sentimental,—that the place of woman is in the home. So it is, and so is the place of man—part of the time. But the ideal family life will come, both economically and socially, when the home is as pleasant a place for woman as it is for man, and for similar reasons.

Divorce and the Child.—Legal divorce is less common in homes where there are children than in childless homes. This undoubtedly means that the children themselves constitute a common bond which holds otherwise discordant individuals together. On the other hand it frequently means that the "home" is such in name only. There is little question that divorce has a most unfortunate effect on the child; at the very least it deprives him of one set of normal educative influences. At the same time, in the opinion of the writer, far too much emphasis has been placed on keeping together unhappy and impossibly mated parents "for the sake of the children." Recent studies in child psychology have shown conclusively that influences of early life are fundamental in character formation; and that conflicts and difficulties in the home are basic in a large proportion of cases of juvenile delinquency and adult failure. Most careful students of the situation agree with Lichtenberger that

> "in the vast majority of cases the children fare much better and their chances for arriving at a career of happiness and usefulness are greatly enhanced, if given into the custody of either parent than if compelled to be reared in the atmosphere of discord and contention." [5]

[5] Lichtenberger, *Divorce, A Study in Social Causation,* New York, Columbia University, 1909, p. 198.

The safest conclusion seems to be that unhappiness at home is bad for the child; if divorce lessens that unhappiness, then divorce is the lesser of two evils; but whatever happens, the child suffers.

Broken Homes and the Law.—It has previously been intimated that many moralists are frightfully concerned about the legal status of the family, and are striving to make stricter the state laws regarding divorce, or are agitating for a nation-wide law. Looked at superficially, there is much to be said for a uniform national divorce law. As the case stands now, a man might be married in one state, a bachelor in another, and a bigamist or even a polygamist in a third. Our experiments in federal legislation dealing with such personal matters as divorce has not, however, been altogether satisfactory. There is, moreover, such a wide difference of opinion among honest and intelligent people that a uniform law satisfying even to a majority would be difficult to arrive at. It seems safer to direct efforts towards encouraging some sort of uniformity among the states, still leaving a wide latitude for difference. It must be borne in mind that divorce is in itself simply a symptom, and any effective adjustment must deal with causes. There is little reason to suppose that, aside from dealing with such perhaps minor matters as delays in granting licenses, the presentation of birth certificates, physical examinations, etc., as outlined in foregoing paragraphs, the law can do much. Certainly it is not a federal problem.

Aside from checks on hasty marriages another possible preventive of family break-ups is through a more socialized court system. Our ordinary legal method of dealing with divorce, as well as other family problems, is hopelessly antiquated. There is little or no opportunity for the courts to investigate the underlying causes of the discord. Hasty divorce is almost as common as hasty marriage. There is, fortunately, a growing practice in the United States to assign divorce, along with other family problems which come before the courts, to a specialized court equipped with probation officers and social workers and sometimes with physicians and psychiatrists. A thorough investigation can thus be made of each application for divorce; hearings are conducted informally; and the rights of everybody concerned, the husband, wife, children, and the state, are protected. Sometimes the causes unearthed are trivial and the court and its officers attempt a reconciliation with success. At other times separation and divorce are seen to be not only inevitable but desirable, and the decree is granted; but the judge can grant the decree, with necessary provisions for care and custody of children, etc., with a full knowledge of the situation.

Alimony.—One other possible preventive of easy divorce, and pos-

sibly of easy marriage in a number of cases, would be the careful examination of applications for alimony. Some experienced judges are of the opinion that ordinarily no alimony should be given to able-bodied women without children, and there is much to be said for such an attitude.

Desertion.—Another type of broken home, particularly among working men, is the result of desertion. Here the law can and frequently does do much. There is legislation on the statute-books of most states making wife-desertion an offense, and in not a few, effective provision for securing support from the deserter, or else for imprisoning him. While it may be a questionable procedure to bring back the deserter to a family for which he did not care enough to provide, there is much to be said for making him support his family,—especially, as is frequently the case, where there are small children. The sooner every state enforces its laws against desertion and non-support the better. In cases of this type the state itself has a very potent interest; for it is the state which, directly through poor-relief or indirectly through private charity, must care for the family. The law, frequently, and courts still more frequently, refuse to recognize the interest of the state; it is not unusual for a woman who for a long time has been dependent on public charity, to refuse to prosecute a worthless man, and because she will not prosecute, the man is discharged.

Sex, the Family, and Society

In concluding this chapter the author cannot refrain from reiterating his own fundamental conviction that sex must as far as possible be divested of emotion and mystery. A definite tendency in this direction is evident in current scientific writings, as well as in the attitude of the younger generation. Belles-lettres at present over-emphasize sex, but over-emphasis is hardly worse than the ignorant innocence of the Victorians. Like any new knowledge it tends to become a sensation—a nine days' wonder—but eventually it will take its normal place,—important but not all-important, in literature and in life. Scientists are no longer afraid to let the public know what they have discovered on this subject,—a proceeding very horrible to the devotees of the past. Sex has been accounted one of the "sacred things"; and it appears nothing less than sacrilege to make it common. But this attitude is being changed, and when the change is complete a more wholesome situation will emerge. For the first time since the days of the Ancient Greeks, society will venture to face the truth about an important part of life.

What applies to sex applies also to the social institution with which it

is concerned, particularly the family. What Jesus said of the Sabbath is equally true of the family; it exists for man, not man for it. Through the centuries it has acquired a halo; and it is a brave person who tips this back and looks at the scars underneath. But no social institution can remain always the same; evolution is at work in the social as in the natural world; the family must adjust itself to new conditions or go under. The task of the student of society is to find out what the new conditions are and what the general adjustments are that the family must make. The task of each individual member of a family is to see that for himself and in his own family he hastens rather than retards progress. It is the profound conviction of the writer that the family still meets a deep human need; but if it is to continue to meet that need it must make many fundamental changes. It is because the family is worth saving that the adjustment will be made; but the result will be a new type of family, one suited, not to the Middle Ages, but to the twentieth century.

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CHAPTER XV

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

Few social maladjustments receive so much general attention as those which are loosely called "crime." The reasons for this interest are many and varied, but the most important is that crime is spectacular. In essence all crime is a violation of the moral code of the community, and in general it arouses an intense and bitter antagonism toward the criminal; under certain circumstances, it provokes among the more reflective members of the community a questioning of the code. Moreover, crime usually involves to some degree the element of daring and adventure, a fact which explains much of the public interest it excites.

Since the Great War there has been a marked increase in crime, in the United States, and indeed the world over. This resurgence of lawlessness has stimulated interest in the underlying causes, so much so that one scarcely picks up a newspaper or a magazine without noticing articles dealing with what the press is fond of calling "The Crime Wave." In spite of all this publicity there are few social problems regarding which there is more general misconception of the difficulties involved, or less general agreement as to the desirable adjustments to be made in meeting them. Emotion plays a tremendous part in dealing with crime and criminals, and where emotion enters at the door, reason flies out of the window.

What Crime is.—In the first place, there is no satisfactory definition of crime. The legal statement is simple. In a standard book on criminal law it is defined as follows:

> "Crime is a violation or neglect of legal duty of so much public importance that the law, either common or statute, takes notice of and presses it." [1]

To the lawyer, then, crime is simply and solely a violation of law. If law-making bodies or ancient custom, either through use or statute, have not enacted laws forbidding certain acts, they are not criminal, no matter how anti-social they may be, and the violation of any existing law is a crime, no matter how harmless or even beneficial the act may be in itself.

That the legal definition is inadequate is apparent even to the casual observer. Clarence Darrow, America's most eminent criminal

[1] May, *Criminal Law*, p. 1.

lawyer, in his thought-provoking book *Crime; Its Cause and Treatment,* puts the objections to this definition strongly:

> "It is apparent that a thing is not necessarily bad because it is forbidden by law. Legislatures are forever repealing and abolishing criminal statutes, and organized society is constantly ignoring laws, until they fall into disuse and die. The laws against witchcraft, the long line of blue-laws, the laws affecting religious beliefs and many social customs, are well known examples of legal and innocent acts which legislatures and courts have once made criminal." [2]

He goes on to point out that the make-up of legislative bodies themselves and the motives underlying their acts do not tend to make their judgment sound or accurate.

Other more or less popular definitions of crime are equally faulty. At periods when religion controlled society much more than it does now, crime was considered a violation of the doctrines taught by the ascendant religion. The difficulty with this definition, even when everyone accepted the particular religious code, came through interpretation of just what the religion forbade. It gave almost unlimited power to the priests, who were the mouthpieces of divinity; and where religious leaders disagreed the average citizen was at a loss. Even such apparently simple commands as "Thou shalt not kill" have needed interpretation and qualification, all through the ages.

Another commonly accepted definition of crime is "anything which is wrong," using the conscience of the individual as the basis for determining the "rightness" or "wrongness" of the act. This is the point of view of those who take conscience to mean a particular spark of divinity placed in man which enables him to judge between the right and the wrong. The implications of the doctrine of evolution make the existence of such a divine spark in humanity doubtful, unless one extends it to the lower creation as well; and if it is divine, how can the fact that the dictates of conscience differ in different individuals be accounted for? If all conscience were divine and, being divine, infallible, all would react alike. Could anyone maintain that in the late war only those obeyed their conscience, either who went to Leavenworth as conscientious objectors, or who fought on the side of the Allies against the Central Powers? Such a contention is unthinkable. That such a thing as conscience exists is evident; but it is the product of heredity plus environment, just as the individual himself is.

[2] Darrow, Clarence; *Crime; Its Cause and Treatment,* New York, 1922, p. 2.

"One's conscience is formed as his habits are formed—by the time and place in which he lives; it grows with his teachings, his habits and beliefs. . . . Conscience . . . is no more infallible than any habit or belief." [8]

This does not necessarily mean that an individual should not follow the dictates of his conscience, but simply that following or not following constitutes neither innocence nor guilt.

More progress in finding a satisfactory definition may perhaps be made if the inquiry be shifted somewhat, from the abstract idea of crime to the human entity of the criminal. A criminal is first and foremost a social failure. But he is a particular type of social failure, —one who is such because he has refused to conform to the commonly accepted standards of the group. Perhaps he could best be defined as "as individual who is maladjusted and fails because of an anti-social attitude." In other words, all crime is anti-social, although all anti-social acts are not criminal. *Crime is the commission of anti-social acts, a refusal to abide by the opinion of the majority, in such a way that the result is injury either to the community of which the criminal is willy-nilly a part or to members of it.* Just what such acts may be, varies from time to time and from place to place; it is the result which matters, more than the act itself.

Shifting Concepts of Crime.—It must always be borne in mind, however, that it is the people of a given time or place who must decide whether or not an act is anti-social and injurious. The opinion of a distant time and place may decide that the criminals of one age were the great heroes and prophets of the next. But just what is criminal must be determined by every age for itself, on the basis of the best information available. Unfortunately this is not always the method used. The law under which the criminal is judged is on the whole the opinion of the past, rather than the opinion of the present. Public opinion has to exist for a long time before it becomes powerful enough to secure expression in the statute-books; often by the time that it has become law, it is in itself out of date. Each age has its own taboos and fetiches, its holy of holies, a violation of which constitutes a crime. Among primitive tribes marriage customs and initiation ceremonies were all important and those who broke them were judged guilty and punished severely; among more advanced nations religious rites and doctrines were peculiarly sacred, and those who questioned were considered criminal because their mere doubt injured the community. Since the Industrial Revolution and even for a period before it, property rights have become the center around which civilization has revolved, and our present statutes, both criminal and civil,

[8] Ibid., p. 5.

mainly enacted in the last hundred and fifty years, are the work of those interested in protecting these rights. The personal rights of the individual have been much less considered; injuries to property have been dealt with severely, while injuries to persons have been relatively overlooked. We are now in a transition stage; laws for the protection of children, employer's liability acts, and other social legislation are symptomatic of the newer attitude. The point to be noted here is that crime—the violation of law or custom—is not something immutable, fixed either in heaven or in the individual conscience. This may be a rather theoretical consideration, but it makes a very great difference in one's practical attitude. When the relativity of what we call crime is recognized, it will then be possible to take the next step, and the all-important one for society: to recognize the necessity of treating the criminal, not as a foredoomed offender against moral law, but as an individual who for some reason, which should be ascertained if possible, has violated social regulations and in so doing has injured the community.

Causes of Crime.—Crime, as the violation of social sanctions, has always existed, and the reason for its existence throughout human history has been an interesting subject of speculation. In primitive society the criminal was generally thought to be possessed by an evil spirit, a notion which has had its effect on more recent times. The belief in witchcraft died hard and it still lingers in the attitude toward the criminal. People find it difficult to account for a particularly wide departure from the accepted mores except through some such idea as demoniac possession. Even the most intelligent people at times succumb to this idea; it is an easy solution to classify one's opponents as wicked.

This attitude accounts to a very considerable extent for the common feeling in regard to punishment. The wicked are the allies of "the enemy", and as such should either be destroyed root and branch or, if that is impossible, treated as harshly as the humanitarian sentiment of the time will allow. Policemen and prison officials, generally not chosen from the most intellectual classes, share this feeling to a great extent and thus excuse acts which to the onlooker seem harsh and brutal. Just as disease was believed to be caused by sin, so crime was laid to the machinations of the Devil. With this conception, which lasted even among the educated well through the eighteenth century, punishments were arbitrary and unequal, and reformation was thought possible only through another supernatural act such as had brought about the crime.

The Classical School.—This attitude toward crime resulted in a protest led by the great criminologist Beccaria, the founder of the so-called "classical school." Beccaria maintained that punishments for

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the same offense should be identical, and further that since the only justification for punishment was its influence as a deterrent to crime, the penalties should be so calculated that the probable pains following violation of law should exceed the expected pleasures. This constitutes what has been called the "hedonistic calculus." This school has had great influence on modern law and the attitude of legislative bodies in making criminal statutes. Its fundamentally incorrect assumption is that all men are equal,—that the punishment should fit the crime and not the criminal. The classical school was not interested in causes, because it believed that an adequate penalty would prevent crime. They erred in imputing the rationality of the philosopher to the common man, who to an extent that eighteenth-century rationalism did not recognize is the creature of his environment and his emotions. The protest against arbitrary and unequal sentences, however, and the omission of the supernatural in the causation of crime, were very great steps in advance.

Even the eighteenth century was unable to maintain the equality of all men; before long children and the insane were exempted from this universal responsibility, because it was conceded that they were unable to weigh relative pleasure and pain. With this exception, however, the classical theory has reigned supreme in strictly legal circles until very recently. It is only within the last twenty-five years that judges and lawyers have come to question the Jeffersonian statement that all men are created equal.

The Criminal Type.—The next most important development in the study of causation of crime is associated with the famous Italian criminologist, Lombroso. Lombroso and his followers believed that there was a distinctive criminal type; that the criminal was born, not made, and further that there were certain "stigmata" by which the born criminal could be recognized. This point of view has also had many adherents, and even now one frequently reads of the "born criminal" and the "degenerate type"; but a number of careful studies have failed to detect any of the stigmata, such as asymmetrical skull, long lower jaw, flattened nose, scanty beard or lack of sensitiveness to pain. In fact Dr. Goring, a distinguished English authority on this subject, declared that he found no difference on these points between a group of criminals and a group of Oxford and Cambridge students. The only differences which exhaustive research on both sides of the Atlantic has found are that the criminal averages somewhat shorter than the population as a whole, has a lower average weight, and a greater degree of mental defect. The fact that criminals, at least those in prison who can be measured, come generally from the lower economic group, which is under-nourished and generally undersized, may well account for the first two differences, while the obvious

fact that it is the duller criminal who gets caught helps to account for the third. People who visit courts and prisons often come away with an idea that criminals look different, but differences in facial expression due to the abnormal situation, hair-cut, dress, etc., easily account for this impression. Whatever may be the psychological differences between criminals and others, careful scientific measurements have proved beyond a shadow of doubt that there is no anatomical difference. This conclusion is very important, because if there were an hereditary criminal type, it could be readily discovered, and the necessary steps taken to prevent its propagation; there would be little need to modify our laws or our social conditions. There is no evidence, however, that heredity, as such, has much to do with crime directly. That the inheritance of mental defect, psychopathic tendencies, strong sexual or other desires, passionate tempers, etc., may have a very great deal to do with crime is quite possible, but with the exception of the two first factors, the others,—under the proper social environment and in proper combination,—may be desirable inheritances. On the side of heredity, the attack on criminality must come from a program for the care of the defective and the mentally diseased. The essentials of such a program have already been outlined, and its enactment would do much to prevent crime; but it must be clearly borne in mind that the attack is on mental defect rather than on crime.

Personal Causes of Crime.—Crime, like most ideas of social significance, is the "joint product of an individual and a social factor, or as Thomas expresses it, of an attitude and a value."[4] The personal causes of crime are those which primarily exist in the individual, but ordinarily they do not come out unless there is a stimulating force in the environment. It is a case of stimulus and response. We know very little about personality, but certain generalizations which are being recognized affect our thinking about criminals as they affect it about normal individuals. Thomas has based his entire social philosophy on what he calls the four fundamental wishes; the wish for new experience, the wish for response, the wish for security, and the wish for recognition.[5] These wishes are at the basis of crime as well as of other more normal acts.

The relation is easily seen; unquestionably many people commit crimes purely from curiosity, that is, the wish for a new experience; others, from the desire for love; the wish for economic security is perhaps at the bottom of a majority of the crimes against property; and finally, particularly with juveniles and in "gangs" the spirit of bravado and the desire for leadership is dominant. None of these wishes act alone, or in a vacuum: they are all part of the social situa-

[4] Sutherland, Edwin H., *Criminology,* Philadelphia, 1924, p. 111.
[5] Thomas, W. I., *The Unadjusted Girl,* Chap. I.

tion, but they must be recognized if the causes of crime are to be understood. The problem here is partly psychological, partly social. Those who deal with potential criminals—and everyone is to a degree a potential criminal—ought to study the strength of the various wishes in each individual and then study his environment in order to find out whether these wishes can be gratified in a socially advantageous manner. Except for the abnormal, there has been little investigation of the personal causes of crime; and such investigation is badly needed. The investigations of Healey in the criminal courts, and of the psycho-analysists in other fields, have clearly established the fact that conflicts over conditions quite remote from criminal acts often lead to crime.

Miss VanWaters in *Youth in Conflict* brings this connection out again and again. The seat of the difficulty is often entirely distinct from anything having to do with the crime committed; for example, a child's thievery may be occasioned by frequent quarrels between his parents. The Juvenile Courts are doing yeoman service in laying bare such conflicts; but much needs to be done with adults. Inhibitions, too, lie at the basis of crime, as do also feelings of inferiority. The desire for recognition is to be found in the individual who feels himself "put upon" at home or in the shop, and frequently the only way he sees of securing recognition is through criminal acts.

Psychopathic Personality and Mental Disease.—Among the mentally abnormal there are other personal influences that tend toward criminality. The mentally deficient find it hard to understand the codes of the community, while the emotionally unstable may be incited to crime by the hallucinations, paranoiac tendencies, and egocentric personalities. As Sutherland points out, however, there has been a tendency to exaggerate the importance of mental disease or defect in the causation of crime, merely because the percentage of disease and defect among criminals in prison is very high. It cannot be too emphatically pointed out that among criminals as among prostitutes, it is the defective who is caught, and also that conditions in many prisons are such that confinement tends to break down the mental stability of apparently normal persons.

Changed Home Conditions and Crime.—Thomas and Znaniezki in their study of the Polish peasant point out that in pre-literate society the social influences are mainly steady, uniform, and consistent; while the peasant who enters modernized society in Western Europe and America finds himself subjected to all sorts of contradictory forces, novel and disconcerting. The home and family life of today, in which the child first learns the community mores, is altogether different from the simple village home, even that of our own fathers. It is not so much that the home has broken down, as that it is not yet adjusted;

but unquestionably this unadjusted home plays an important part in creating criminals. Industrial life is removed from the home-circle; the father and often the mother spend most of their day outside the immediate family, and we have not yet developed an educational system efficient and intelligent enough to supply the place which the home filled in an earlier day. Parents are isolated from their children; they have always been of a different age, but progress in Western society is so rapid that the different generations have little in common. One may say that they do not speak the same language; of immigrant parents and children this is often literally true.

The Neighborhood and Crime.—The neighborhood is sometimes a factor in creating criminal attitudes, against which the home may struggle in vain. Everyone is a creature of his surroundings, inclined to do whatever his associates approve. Some sections of cities, particularly the poorer quarters, are dominated by people whose whole reason for existence is anti-social. The old red-light districts come immediately to mind, but prohibition with its disregard for law-enforcement and the alliance it has brought about among bootleggers, keepers of "blind pigs," officers of the law, and crooked politicians, is just as real a problem. Where the bootlegger, the gunman, the grafter, and the bribe-taking policeman are heroes, the incentives to crime abound. It is not only in the cities that such conditions exist. There are some sparsely populated country regions where the road-house and gambling den are the only outposts of urban civilization.

The "gang," whether of adults or adolescents, is an inevitable concomitant of the neighborhood with immoral or criminal traditions, but it exists also in better neighborhoods. Much is to be said for the gang spirit; it carries on an older tradition of leadership and loyalty, but far too many gangs are wrongly led and loyal to the worst sort of ideals. Such organizations as the *Boy Scouts* are capitalizing the gang spirit among boys to great advantage, but as yet little has been done for the older gangs, and generally it is from these groups that criminals graduate.

Another unfortunate neighborhood factor is mobility; a neighborhood environment which is always changing and in which there are all sorts of heterogeneous elements is likely to become a breeding-place for criminals. There are no fixed standards, nobody knows or cares for anyone else, and there are no social checks on conduct. The change of morale, not to mention morals, which comes over the country man or woman who migrates to a large city, is a well-known case in point. It illustrates the advantages of a fixed neighborhood in directing the conduct of the individual units.

Poverty and Crime.—Poverty, too, bears a close relationship to

crime; at least it is from the poor that the majority of criminals come. There are, however, no adequate figures to indicate how close the relationship is. Sutherland in the following paragraph shows how poverty tends to accentuate delinquency. He says:

"Poverty . . . generally means segregation in low-rent sections, where people are isolated from many of the cultural influences and forced into contact with many of the degrading influences. Poverty generally means a low status, with little to lose, little to respect, little to be proud of, little to sustain efforts to improve. It generally means bad housing conditions, lack of sanitation . . . and lack of attractive community institutions. It generally means both parents away from home for long hours, with the fatigue, lack of control of children, and irritation that goes with these. It generally means withdrawal of the child from school at an early age and the beginning of mechanical labor, with weakening of the home control, the development of anti-social grudges, and lack of cultural contacts. Poverty, together with the display of wealth in shop windows, streets and picture-shows, generally means envy and hatred of the rich and the feeling of missing much in life, because of the lack of satisfaction of the fundamental wishes. Poverty seldom forces people to steal or become prostitutes in order to escape starvation. It produces its effect most frequently on the attitudes rather than on the organism." [6]

As he points out, the amazing thing is not that so many poor people become delinquents, but that so many resist.

Alcohol and Crime.—It is difficult to know whether to classify the use of alcohol and the habit-forming drugs as personal or social factors; since their use and abuse is largely governed by social control and social sanctions, they may be considered in the second category. During the period of agitation for prohibition, the statement was made that alcoholic stimulants were largely, if not entirely, responsible for crime, and the hope was held out that if once alcohol was done away with crime would cease. Since this subject is more fully discussed elsewhere, it is sufficient to say here that this hope has by no means been fulfilled. It is undeniable, however, that whether under prohibition or with the open saloon, practices connected with the selling of alcohol have had a very definite effect on crime. To quote Sutherland again:

"Before prohibition the saloons openly violated the law and corrupted legislatures, police departments, and courts. Since prohibition some of the most respected members of American society and some influential newspapers are openly violating and scoffing at the law and bootleggers are producing corruption as did the saloons of earlier years." [7]

[6] Sutherland, op. cit., p. 169.
[7] Sutherland, op. cit., p. 177.

Drugs and Crime.—Drugs are also said to have definite effects in producing crime, not only because they cause the deterioration and breakdown of social standards, but also because it is often only through criminal acts that the addict can get the drug he craves. Many people become criminals first and then take to drugs afterwards, but it is true also that drug-addiction lures many to crime.

Attempted Prevention as a Cause of Crime.—Among the most important social factors in causing crime are the methods taken by society to prevent it—the police systems, the courts, the prisons, and even the reform agencies. These and the part they play in manufacturing criminals will be considered elsewhere.

Criminal Statistics

It is perhaps rash to state that any one form of statistics is more unreliable than all others, but this is the contention of many writers in regard to criminal statistics. That there is some basis for this statement, even a casual examination of the difficulties involved will show. In the first place, there is rarely, if ever, in two political areas, such as Massachusetts and California or the United States and Canada, an agreement as to what constitutes a crime. It is a crime to sell liquor in Massachusetts, but its sale is a governmental function in Quebec. Even murder is technically different under different jurisdictions, and with lesser crimes the divergence is much greater. From time to time there have been attempts to work out a standard classification of crimes, at least for the United States, and some criminologists and statisticians are even ambitious enough to work on international classifications and definitions. The need for such a movement is evident to anyone who deals to the slightest extent with criminal statistics. This is a field in which a committee of the League of Nations might perform valuable service. At the present time the American Institute of Criminal Law is making studies with the hope of securing more accurate classification in this country.

In addition to the difficulty of definition, the sources from which criminal statistics are to be gathered present an almost insuperable obstacle to accuracy. Data of arrests and charges of crime are misleading. In the first place they cover only crimes for which arrests have been made; but for almost half of the serious crimes committed in this country, no arrests are made. This fact would tend to place the figures much too low; but on the other hand many arrests made merely on suspicion are included, where the prisoners are afterward discharged for want of evidence. Court sentences are somewhat more accurate as far as they go, but obviously they are far from complete. Newspaper accounts of crimes suffer from the proverbial inaccuracy

of the press and its tendency to sensationalism, and statistics taken from prisoners deal only with the less intelligent criminals,—those who have been caught. All of these suffer from local variations, and make comparisons as to crime at different times and places very difficult. A crusade against lawlessness may mean a tremendous increase in the number of arrests, newspaper items about crime, court sentences, and prisoners, although the actual amount of crime may be less than at other times and places with which comparisons are made. Minor changes in the law cause considerable variation; for example, a raising of the age of consent will mean an increase in the number of cases of rape, although the amount of actual rape may really decline. Hence all comparative statements as to crime should be taken with a very considerable allowance.

Extent of Crime in the United States.—A recent magazine article by a competent publicist Mr. Veiller states that

> America is the most lawless nation on earth. In 1922, 9500 persons were killed in crimes of violence in the United States; in 1923, 10,000 and in 1924, 11,000.[8]

Mr. Veiller goes on to say that in 1921 there were only 147 homicides in all England and Wales, compared with 237 in New York City alone, while in Chicago in 1923 there were 389 homicides. He also claims that robbery is "one hundred times as prevalent in Chicago as it is in London," and that in 1921 there were twelve times the number of robberies reported in Chicago alone as in all England and Wales. Such tremendous differences cannot be accounted for wholly by different statistical methods, and there is little question that there is more crime today in the United States than in any other civilized country. Mr. Veiller makes an estimate of from three to ten million dollars as the actual cost of crime to the United States each year; even the smaller amount more than equals the entire cost of running the Federal Government.

Types of Crime

Law-makers and lawyers have spent a very considerable portion of their time in classifying crime—an interesting pastime, but one which assists little in reducing the number of criminals. Since all discussion of crime assumes some knowledge of the commonly accepted classifications, however, they are of some importance. There are three general classifications; (1) on the basis of the *nature* of the crime, as crimes against property, against the person, and against public order and decency; (2) as to the *gravity* of the crime, minor crimes being called misdemeanors and more serious crimes, felonies; and (3) and

[8] Veiller, *Lawrence The Rising Tide of Crime*, Worlds Work, 1925, p. 133, December, 1925.

less satisfactory than either of the others, on the basis of the *motives*, as economic crimes, sexual crimes, political crimes, etc.

Since it is almost impossible to find out what the motives were back of any crime, and since in practically every case the motivation was mixed, this last classification is of very little importance, although it points the way to the really important thing, viz. the study of the criminal, rather than of the crime. The second classification, although it is the one generally used in criminal statistics and in the law courts, is misleading and socially undesirable. It goes back to the assumption of the classical school of criminologists that penalties could be accurately fixed on the basis of the crime. It is especially unfortunate in that it is used as a basis of classification of criminals as well; persons who commit felonies are felons and others are simply misdemeanants, while every student of criminal psychology knows that generally there is little or no difference between the two. Then, too, the definition of felony and of misdemeanor lies with the legislature of each state or nation, and no two legislatures quite agree. In studying punishment, the fallacy of this position will be even more apparent. The first classification, according to the nature of the crime, has some value in studying criminality of different races and in different communities, but it is of little significance in studying the causes of crime.

The Professional and the Accidental Criminal.—A division frequently made, which is of some practical significance, is that between the *professional* and the *accidental* criminal. The *professional* criminal is a person whose main, and often sole, occupation is crime, and for whom the proceeds of crime constitute his chief source of income. In this class come the professional gunmen, burglars, pickpockets, confidence men, forgers, keepers of disorderly resorts, pimps, procurers, and all the host of people who make a living by violating the laws. In the *occasional* criminal class are numbered those unfortunates who owing to economic pressure, or uncontrolled passion, combined with opportunity and weakened inhibitions, slip from their position as normal members of society and commit crimes. The *accidental* criminal is really scarcely a criminal at all; owing to pressure of particular circumstances at a particular time he commits a single criminal act. Many murderers are members of this group. The accidental criminal is rarely guilty of crimes with an economic motivation; on the other hand, he constitutes a fair proportion of the perpetrators of crimes of violence and of certain types of sex offenders.

These classifications, thanks to our faulty corrective and penal system, blend into one another. The accidental criminal is sent to prison for his one criminal act, becomes a social outcast, and at the same time receives expert training in crime as a profession. He may

and often does attempt to lead a law-abiding life on his discharge from prison, but the cards are stacked against him, and he is likely to become an occasional criminal. From the occasional to the professional is a short step.

The importance of making such a classification comes in the treatment of the offender. The wisdom of treating a professional criminal differently from the novice in crime is evident; and yet our laws and courts which take primarily the crime rather than the criminal into account, make little distinction. An accidental criminal who has committed a serious crime is far more severely treated than a professional, whose offence is a minor one. The right sort of treatment of accidental and occasional criminals will do much to prevent the development of the professional type; our present treatment is manufacturing them to an alarming degree.

Age of Criminals

The data regarding the age of criminals are not as reliable as we might wish, since juveniles are less likely to be arrested than those of mature years, but they have some value. The maximum age of offenders is 21–24 years, taking into account such data as we have regarding arrests, commitments and convictions together.[9] The ages vary somewhat from place to place, but almost everywhere it is the young adult who is the principal offender. There is a gradual rise from the age of ten to the maximum, an equally gradual decline to 44, and then a sharp drop. This does not mean, however, that older people are entirely innocent of crime; indeed certain crimes seem to be committed almost exclusively by the elderly. A study of prisoners in Indiana in 1918 revealed the fact that of 175 cases of rape, two-thirds were committed by decrepit old men.[10] A recent German study showed that the percentage of first offenders is larger in the group 70 and over than in any other age group.[11] Many of these are sex offences, and may be due to senile dementia, or to certain physiological factors.

The most serious crimes from the point of view of the community, however, are committed by the younger adults. These crimes such as homicide, burglary, robbery, etc., call for strength. Another significant fact is that most criminals begin their career in youth. The question arises, however,—what becomes of all the young criminals? It seems improbable that any large proportion of them reform; one must assume, then, that they either die early, or become expert and escape detection.

[9] Sutherland, op. cit., p. 90.

[10] Bowers, P. E., *A Survey of 2500 prisoners in the Psychopathic Laboratory in the Indiana State Prison;* Journal Delinquency, 4, 12, January, 1919.

[11] Bresler, J., quoted by Sutherland, op. cit., p. 91.

Sex of Offenders.—The sex distribution of offenders is more interesting than significant, since women are rarely arrested for crimes other than sex offences, while men, although they are almost always involved in the latter as much as the women, usually escape arrest and conviction. About nine times as many males as females are committed to institutions. The large number of commitments of males for drunkenness and disorderly conduct makes the percentages of arrest of little value. The only conclusion to be drawn is that the difference in respect to apparent criminality is really caused by differences in the social code.

The City and the Country as Crime-producers.—Much has been written concerning the relative tendency of the city or the country to produce criminals, but owing to the lack of adequate statistics very few of the data are reliable. The fact that in the city there are more opportunities to commit crime, particularly crimes against property, as well as more incentives to do so, and still more the fact that the cities are far better policed than the country, throws out many of the conclusions commonly drawn. Unquestionably more crimes are committed in the cities, and on the whole city-bred youth, rather than country boys and girls, are the guilty ones.

A knowledge of the entire absence of an adequate police system in small towns and rural districts, and also a knowledge of some of the anti-social acts perpetrated in these same sections, makes the writer feel that the difference is apparent rather than real. The small town is said by many students to be a veritable nursery of criminals. It has many of the incitements to crime which the larger centers possess without the socially counteracting influences. A frightful picture of what is asserted to be a typical situation is given in a report of the Illinois Department of Public Welfare for 1919–1920:

> It was found that many 16 and 17 year old girls had become professional prostitutes. . . . Every night boys and girls in most of the towns loafed in front of moving picture theatres, smoking, swearing, scrambling for half-smoked cigarette ends. . . . In some towns the authorities stated that it was impossible to keep obscene writing rubbed off the walls of the schools. Burglaries and thefts by young people are frequent, junk men buying stolen articles from the boys. . . . A great many stores are broken into; in one town in the evening children loitered in the school-yard, which was said to be used for immoral purposes. Inspection of the poolrooms showed them occupied by boys from nine years of age and up; . . . Some of the poolrooms had gambling stands. . . . In two towns there were epidemics of venereal disease in the schools.[12]

[12] Sutherland, op. cit., pp. 295–296.

A study made by the United States Children's Bureau of twenty-one rural communities in New York State [13] showed an equally serious situation. In the communities studied 185 delinquent children were found, 41 classed as incorrigible, 68 involved in sex offences, and 75 who had stolen or were guilty of fraud. The boys exceeded the girls by six to one in incorrigibility and theft, but among the sex offenders 41 were girls and but 9 boys. There are many small towns, and even districts in the country, where vicious resorts for gambling and immorality are maintained with the connivance of the local authorities, and these breed vice and crime throughout the neighborhood. The cities at least are beginning to realize the gravity of the situation which density of population, extremes of wealth and poverty, a heterogeneous population, and other factors, are developing, but in general the country districts and small towns are more complacent.

Immigration and Crime

Another very comforting statistical fallacy—comforting at least to the native-born American—is that immigrants constitute the bulk of the criminals. That this contention, which a casual observation of the figures indicates, is incorrect, is evident from a study of the age-groups involved, and from the fact that the major portion of the immigrants live in cities where arrests and convictions are far more frequent than in the country. The 1910 Immigration Commission concluded that the reverse of the generally accepted statement was the case, and that actually the immigrants were less criminal than the native-born. Taking the foreign-born as a whole, they show a ratio of about 2 to 1 on arrests and convictions as compared with the natives, but when they are compared with their own age-group the ratio is but 1 to 3. Even Laughlin, who cannot be accused of bias toward the immigrant, and who failed to take account of age differences, admits that the immigrants contribute only "98.50 of their quota to the criminalistic institutional population." [14]

There are very great differences however, in the amount of crime committed by various nationalities. Laughlin's study shows this difference graphically. Immigrants from northwestern Europe, who show a high rate of arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct, rate comparatively low among institutional inmates, while immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, and particularly from Mexico, contribute three to six times the number of criminals that their proportion of the population would normally call for. The Italian immigrant leads in

[13] Claghorn, K. H., *Juvenile Delinquency in Rural New York,* Children's Bureau Publication No. 32, Washington, 1918.

[14] Laughlin, H. H., *Analysis of America's Melting Pot,* reprinted from the Congressional Record, November 21, 1922, p. 742.

crimes of violence, closely followed by other southern nationalities. The second generation of all immigrants, however, shows a decided increase in general criminality.

Negroes and Crime.—The immigrants are not alone in being used as an excuse for American criminality; the negroes, also, it is claimed, help to swell the total of crime in the United States out of all proportion to their relative numbers. Statistics here are thoroughly unreliable; most of them come from the southern states where accurate social data are even more rare than in the North, and a large part of them from rural districts and county jails. If arrests and convictions are taken as a basis there is little doubt but that negroes are more criminal than whites; but criminal justice in certain parts of the country is not meted out equally to members of the two races. Negroes are arrested on suspicion, are not allowed to secure proper defense, and are railroaded to prison. In some sections it is said that negroes are arrested and convicted on purely trumped-up charges and are then handed over to the exploitation of planters who desire their services. The Chicago Commission on Race Relations attempted to gather some accurate data on the inherent criminalistic tendencies in the two races but gave up the effort because the material was so thoroughly unreliable. About all that can be said is that negroes are certainly arrested and imprisoned more frequently than whites, and that the terms for the negro prisoners are longer than for the whites. It should be borne in mind that in both North and South the negroes, together with the latest immigrants, constitute the lowest stratum in the social scale; that they receive the lowest wages, live in the poorest and generally the most lawless sections of the city, receive little or no police protection, especially in the segregated districts of the South, and that they are defective in education and poor in educational opportunities. To secure satisfactory data, a comparison should be made with whites in similar circumstances, and this is impossible. The negroes who have been fortunate enough to secure a good education compare very favorably with whites similarly fortunate. A few years ago the statement was made that not one of the 800 graduates of Fiske University was in prison; and Mound Bayou, Mississippi, an entirely negro town, had not had a serious crime for twenty years.[15]

The negro migrant to the North in recent years has contributed much more than his share to the crime quota; but here too the fact is that he is unadjusted and in a very precarious social and economic condition. Furthermore he is ignorant, and many of the crimes charged against him can be laid to that account.

There is little comfort for the native white American in casting the blame for crime on either negro or immigrant; even if they are

[15] Washington, B. T., *The Story of the Negro*, II, pp. 371, ff.

more criminal, which is open to doubt, the causes that bring them to the commission of crime lie in the social structure for which the white American is primarily responsible.

Prevention and Punishment

It is difficult to separate a consideration of the various adjustments which society makes for the prevention and for the punishment of crime, not because there is any essential relationship between the two processes, but because society uses the same instrumentalities—police, courts, and, in theory at least, prisons—for both. Really punishment and not prevention absorbs the major portion of the activities of all these, and actually little is done for prevention. The preventive adjustments are decidedly in the making, while those for punishment have a long history.

Theories of Punishment.—Crime is as old as society and punishment as old as crime. The most primitive groups recognized that the breaking of the communal mores was a serious matter, and that something should be done to the offender. Since most of the recognized crimes consisted in a violation of a religiously sanctioned custom, the only thing to do to purify the group and put it again in right relation with the gods was to purge itself of the offender. In other words, crime was looked on with abhorrence, and the criminals, who were primarily religious offenders, were either killed or banished. This theory that the law-breaker was an "unclean" person has persisted to the present day, and it largely accounts for the indifference to or even approval of methods of punishment which are not only cruel and inhuman, but utterly useless.

The Tort.—Besides this "religious" crime, the type of crime known in civil law as a "tort" also has existed in society from early days. By accident or design, one man injured another or stole his goods; no one looked on this as "crime" if they were members of different tribes. But if they were members of the same tribe, the incident came to be regarded as criminal. In the earlier days, however, there was no punishment, as such, for this type of crime. The old doctrine of "an eye for an eye" illustrates what happened. The over-group, the tribe or community, demanded of the offender or his family the equivalent of what had been taken or an injury similar to that perpetrated. This was, of course, in cases where there was no taboo covering the act. Certain of our more progressive courts and some few scattering laws are beginning again to recognize the value of the ancient idea of restitution. Individuals suffer through crime, but through the influence of the religious conception, according to which it was the gods of the community who were offended and to whom

recompense was due, all punishments and fines still accrue to the state. There is much to be said, however, for a return of the idea of restitution to our legal system.

Punishment under the Classical Penology.—The ideal of punishment advanced by the classical penologists has already been discussed,—that of basing punishments for crime on the assumed advantage to the criminal of his original act. This "hedonistic calculus" fell down completely when its basic assumption, the equality of men, was destroyed. Modern psychology with its mental tests and Freudian determinism and detailed social case-studies have shown its complete futility.

The Moral Effect of Punishment.—The reason most frequently given today for punishment is that it has a definite moral effect on the community. This goes back to the classical assumption—but without the definiteness of the classical criminologists. The belief is that a universal knowledge that crime will meet with speedy and severe punishment, will deter many individuals from committing crime; it is often urged that criminals should be severely punished, not for their own good, but for the good of other potential criminals. Whether or not this assumption is sound, is yet to be decided. It certainly does not hold true with the defective, or even with normal individuals when acting under stress of emotion, and many crimes are committed under such stimuli. At the same time there are other crimes, such as stealing, forgery, wife-desertion, and some sex crimes, which are planned in advance; it seems probable that with them the knowledge that punishment, swift and inexorable, was bound to follow would have some effect. That is the psychology back of the advertising of the New York Police Department, and their "YOU CAN'T GET AWAY WITH IT" posters.

On the other hand, there is much to be said against this attitude. In the first place, it is unjust; it is making one individual suffer for another's possible sins. Then, too, like classical hedonism it assumes considerable intelligence in the potentially criminal group. And finally we do not know whether or not it works. The fact that in general a diminution of crime has followed reduction of sentences is against it. There is no reason to believe, either, that there has been a marked increase in murders since the public was forbidden to attend hangings.

The Police

Among all the agencies established by society for dealing with the socially maladjusted none has so great an opportunity as the police. The primary function of the police department of government, whether

local, state, or national, is to preserve order. This should involve, among many other widely differing functions, prevention of crime and apprehension of criminals.

Every community has its police force. In the big city it is uniformed, drilled, and highly organized. In the small rural community it consists of the village constable, elected by his fellow-citizens, with little authority or power. In the nation at large the police-force is represented by the federal marshals, backed by the entire power of the army, if necessary; and in an increasing number of states by a small but efficient state police which supplements the ineffective rural constabulary.

The police can and do accomplish much to prevent crime. In the first place, their very existence means that the criminal runs a risk which is of considerable moment. In the second place, a well-organized force has on file information which is exchanged with that of other cities, thus developing a common fund of knowledge about the more distinguished professional criminals. But the police could and in some instances do accomplish far more.

The Police and Prevention.—A good policeman knows his district; he makes it his purpose to know the families in it, to know the possible opportunities for crime, as well as the persons most likely to commit it. In some advanced communities, such as Berkeley, California, the policeman is a trained sociologist—expected to know the social forces for evil in his community, and those for good. The children are his special care; and such an attitude is by no means confined to the trained criminologist on the forces at Berkeley. Many a boy just starting on a career of crime owes his salvation to the advice of a friendly and observant "cop."

Criticisms of the Police.—There is probably no arm of government which receives more criticism than the police. It is criticized for laxity if crimes are committed, and it is almost more criticized for severity if it becomes over-zealous in enforcing the law. From the point of view of crime prevention, much of the criticism is justified; yet the essential criticism should be directed, not against the police, but against the public. It is public indifference which has allowed this most important social service to become the spoil of politicians, and it is politics fundamentally which is responsible for the failure of the police. When there is added to political control an entire absence of comprehension on the part of the public as to the duties of the police, and the qualities and consequently the training and compensation of the police officer, the wonder is that our police force is no worse than it is.

Rural Police.—The rural police force is inefficient primarily because it is totally untrained. The constables, sheriffs, etc., are mainly men

who have some other occupation, and who cannot be expected to perform the manifold duties in crime prevention and detection which rural policing requires. It is rare indeed to find a rural police officer who has a socialized conception of his duties, and when such a one is found he is very likely to be turned out of office as a result of partisan politics. Then, too, the system of fee payment for services of the rural police is most unfortunate; its amount is determined by the legislature and is based on conditions which are distinctly antiquated. Attendance at court sessions is often made more remunerative than attempting to locate a professional criminal, and both are far more satisfactory financially than any preventive work. Indeed the fee system generally does not recognize time spent in prevention, and any rural officer who undertakes such a task is out of pocket for his pains. The system of full-time state constabularies meets some of these objections, but there is little or no recognition for socialized effort.

Criticisms of the City Police.—Criticisms of the city police include not only inefficiency, but also collusion with criminals on the one hand, and brutality in method on the other. That a considerable amount of collusion does exist is undeniable. The police officers are underpaid, subject to political control, and opportunities for graft are frequent. In one community automobile stealing had become increasingly common; no traces could be found of the missing vehicle until a reward was offered and then the machine was promptly returned. Investigation disclosed the fact that the thefts were made in collusion with the police and the reward was split between the police official claiming it and the thief. In cities, moreover, there are commercialized resorts such as gambling houses, "blind pigs," and houses of prostitution, all of which have to avail themselves of police "protection" if they are to flourish. Ordinarily it is not the patrolman who secures the larger part of the graft but the officials "higher up." Many of these men owe their position to political influence, and the politicians and the criminals together constitute a ring against which the honest officer is powerless. In fact the connection between politics and the police is in many respects the greatest handicap to efficient service in the police departments in most American cities. In European cities, in many of which the police are officials of the central government under strict civil service regulations, this connection is far less common. Promotion in the department depends on training and skill, and is regulated largely through an examination system; police service is looked on as an honorable career and university graduates accept appointments; the higher ranks in the service are filled by army officers, and there is a strong departmental morale. This is lacking in most American cities, although a tendency in this direction is apparent. Until the police system is entirely removed from political influence and

control, the evils in the American cities will continue to exist. Appointments to the force are quite generally made now through examination, but the higher officers secure their posts through political influence, or through election, and the result is that the force is demoralized from the top down.

Changes in the Police System.—The American police has certainly been improving in recent years. Although we have by no means reached the standard of the European systems as to morale, training, and personnel, in the socialization of the department and the employment of police-women we are in advance of them. These improvements so far have been chiefly in the larger centers, although Berkeley, California, stands out as having the most progressive police department in the country. The smaller cities are still politically controlled. The state police in the rural districts approaches more nearly the foreign semi-militarized system. It may be well to point out some of the desirable changes in police methods and mechanism.

First of all, there is need for an entirely different attitude on the part of the public toward the police. Prevention as well as detection of crime must be included in their province; as a matter of fact the police officer must become a thoroughly trained social worker, and should be recognized as such. This means definite preparation for the service, preferably of college grade, at least for all police officers who are dealing with crime.

It might mean a specialization of function; some duties, important in themselves, such as regulation of traffic, for example, have less need of the social training. But the police officer who is dealing with crime and criminals ought to be well-grounded in the essentials of sociology, and psychology, and also have a fair command of criminal law. Promotion in the service should be based primarily on training and service, and opportunities for training, both elementary and advanced, should be provided. When promotion is based on merit the service will develop a morale which at present it lacks, and collusion with criminals or crooked politicians would become almost as uncommon as collusion with the enemy by officers in the army or navy.

In fact it seems to the writer that the most essential change of all is that of status. It would be a very great lift in status if some of our large colleges offered both undergraduate and graduate courses not only in criminology and criminal law, but in the essentials of social work as applied to the police service. Training courses, instead of being conducted by the police departments, as at present, should be conducted by the colleges, and ultimately a bachelor's degree should be a requirement for admission to the police force, just as it is now for high school teaching and is beginning to be in many lines of social work. The higher positions on the force should be mainly confined to

those officers who have taken advanced work in their field. This would mean, of course, that the compensation should be increased, but as it is now, the beginning rates of pay in many of the larger cities compare favorably with those in teaching and social work, and to many the work would be much more interesting. Hours and conditions of work need adjustment, but the primary consideration is status and training. Once the idea is accepted that police service is a professional career demanding training and intelligence, the public attitude will change toward it, just as the service itself will change.

State control of local police to some extent does away with the dangers of local politics, and hence seems to be in the direction of progress. The control is generally effective in raising requirements for admission to the force and eliminating politics from the higher appointments. It also secures a certain uniformity in practice which is helpful.

The socialized attitude toward the work of the police would follow from a change in method of appointment and training. This change is absolutely essential if the police are to be an influence to prevent crime. This, in the judgment of the writer, is the great contribution which America has to offer. The addition of women police officers in many American cities is a case in point. Where these officers have been effective they have been trained social workers; where they have been ineffective—and they have been in many cities—they have been translated matrons of jails or political appointees with no training.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the writer advocates a thorough overhauling of our police systems. Whether this is to be done through the establishment of state police—as seems likely in rural districts—or through the change of attitude in larger centers, in either case it is essential if the police are to function adequately. A reorganization of the police force could be accomplished that would not only be more effective in the prevention of crime and the protection of persons and property, but would centralize and make more efficient innumerable efforts at social adjustment—and ultimately at far lower cost than the present duplicating and desultory system. There are men, like Arthur Woods, the Police Commissioner of New York under the Mitchel administration, who have such an ideal in mind and who, if given time and money, could make it work even in such a great center as New York City. The ideal place for such a plan to be tried, however, is in some smaller city, preferably a college or university town, where the police departments and the sociologists and psychologists of the university could work together at a problem that would not seem too insuperable in its beginnings. Volmer has taken some preliminary steps in Berkeley in connection with the University of California, but similar experiments need to be under-

taken elsewhere. America is looking for the pioneer community to show her the way to make this social adjustment.

The Arrest

The arrest—that is, the taking control of the person of the suspected criminal by the police—is an important step in dealing with the criminal or potential criminal. It may be made on the spot,—that is, the police officer may be a witness of the crime; or it may be made on complaint of some other witness or interested party. It may be made roughly and publicly, with "black maria" or police patrol wagon and an officer in uniform; or it may be made quietly by a plain clothes man; or the offender may simply be summoned to appear in court. Except in the cases where the professional criminal is involved, where the crime is one of violence, or the criminal is a disturber of the peace, the third procedure is preferable. The police, however, often prefer the more spectacular method of public arrest. The arrest itself has a very definite effect on the individual, especially on the young offender. Some juvenile courts have consistently refused to use the method of public arrest by a uniformed officer, except in rare instances, with remarkably successful results. Writers on criminology feel that far too many arrests are made; they are made on trivial causes, perhaps because the officer is in bad humor and with no valid excuse for the action; and they are often made with actual brutality.

Steps after Arrest.—After the arrest is made there are several steps which may be taken. Sutherland lists them as follows: [16]

a. the individual may be taken immediately to court and tried;
b. he may be taken to the police station and then released without trial after a few hours or a few days;
c. he may secure a release on a writ of *habeas corpus;*
d. he may secure a release on a *recognizance* (his own promise to return for trial);
e. he may secure a release on bail;
f. he may be detained in a hotel or private home under supervision;
g. he may be detained in a jail or police station until the case is ready for trial.

The first procedure is relatively rare; its most common use is in connection with the night court. More adequate provision should be made for immediate trial. In many cases there is no excuse for keeping the person charged with crime waiting for a hearing. The second course is frequently followed with "drunks," and has some justification. However, a much better procedure, except where the individual is troublesome, would be to take him home. The writ of *habeas corpus*

[16] Sutherland, op. cit., p. 211.

is rarely used except in connection with political offences, where it is necessary to prevent unjust arrest, and by professional criminals, who, it is said, have attorneys constantly in their pay ready to swear out such writs as soon as they are arrested. The most that the writ can do is to make the arresting officer prove that he has a reasonable case. The recognizance method is used in minor cases such as violations of the automobile laws, etc., in a perfectly legitimate way, but is also used in many cases where the police and court officials are in collusion with misdemeanants. They are released on recognizance, either their own or their attorney's, and then in the rush of business their cases are overlooked or "nol prossed" and nothing further is done about them.

The evils of recognizance are exemplified to an even greater degree by the "bail" system. If an arrest is made for a violation of the law that is at all serious the criminal should be brought to trial; but in order to avoid undue detention before trial the "bail" plan has been developed, and it has been used by crooked police officials and criminals and their allies as a method of exploitation. It is thoroughly unfair; in the first place, the poor man who is not a professional criminal cannot secure bail and so must remain in custody, while the rich man finds no difficulty. For the professional criminal class there has developed the professional bondsmen,—men whose business it is to furnish bail for a compensation. A large part of this bail is forfeited, since the criminal does not appear for trial. Sometimes the bond is in cash, when it is surrendered to the state, but more frequently it is real estate, and as often as not of little or no value. In most European countries bail given by professional bondsmen is not accepted, and it should not be in America. Many times it is felt that the police and the bondsmen are in collusion and the arrests are made to secure business for the latter, who "whacks up" with the desk sergeant. The whole matter of bail should be thoroughly investigated. Not only should the professional bondsmen be excluded, but bail should be refused the professional criminal altogether. A much better method is to provide a speedy trial.

The method of detention in a private home or hotel is slowly growing in favor, especially for juvenile offenders, who are often allowed to stay in their own home, and for women. It has much to recommend it, especially in comparison with its alternative, the jail or police station.

The Police Station.—Little need be said about the police station as a place of detention. It is rarely constructed for such a purpose; its detention rooms are not equipped for long stays; it is frequently over-crowded; and owing to the relatively large number of arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct is not the proper sort of place in which to keep possibly innocent people, even overnight.

This situation is recognized in some states by making it mandatory either that trials shall be held or accused persons delivered to another type of institution.

The Jail

The city or county jail is the typical institution in America to which persons awaiting trial are sent pending their hearing. Of all the attempts at social adjustment the jail is absolutely the worst. It does nothing to prevent crime and but little to punish it. Much has been written of the horrors of jails, but the best description is by Joseph R. Fishman, inspector of local prisons for the United States Government who during sixteen years of service visited over 1500 jails. He opens his recent book *Crucibles of Crime* with the following definition:

> JAIL: an unbelievably filthy institution in which are confined men and women serving sentences for misdemeanors and crimes, and *men and women not under sentence who are simply awaiting trial.* With few exceptions, having no segregation of the unconvicted from the convicted, the well from the diseased, the youngest and most impressionable from the most degraded and hardened. Usually swarming with bedbugs, roaches, lice, and other vermin; has an odor of disinfectant and filth which is appalling; supports in idleness countless thousands of able-bodied men and women, and generally affords ample time and opportunity to assure inmates a complete course in every kind of viciousness and crime. A melting pot in which the worst elements of the raw material in the criminal world are brought forth blended and turned out in absolute perfection.

And yet this is the institution which is "the almost universal detention house for untried prisoners." [17] in the United States. Moreover, the reports of the Census show that from two-thirds to three-fourths of convicted prisoners serve out their terms in jails.

There are over three thousand jails in the United States, and it is questionable if one of them is a proper place in which to keep any human being not yet convicted of crime. There are some jails that are clean—they are very few—but there are scarcely any in which the convicted are separated from the unconvicted, and none in which the separation is complete.

While dealing with the jail as a place of detention, it may also be considered as a place of punishment. Here, too, it is a failure, and the consensus of opinion among students of penology is that it should be abolished.

Aside from its lumping together of all sorts and conditions of human derelicts and its generally inadequate sanitary conditions, the local jail deserves harsh criticism because it offers nothing in the way of employ-

[17] Robinson, L. N., *Penology in the United States,* Philadelphia, 1923, p. 32.

ment or education. The excuse for this, of course, is to be found in the relatively short term of imprisonment of convicted criminals and the indefiniteness of stay of those awaiting trial. In regard to employment and education, as well as segregation of types, prisons make a much better showing than jails.

Reasons for Continuance of the Jail.—Many campaigns have been made to abolish the jail in America, but most of them have failed miserably. The reason for this, aside from public indifference, is the vested interest of local officials in the continuance of the jail. The sheriffs and their assistants, whose livelihood (often a very good one) depends on the continuance of the present system, can always marshal local sentiment against state control, and many of them also make strong political alliance with the forces which profit from crime. The professional criminals fear the state prisons and the more specialized state institutions, but they know that local "pull" can often assuage their lot and shorten their sentences in the county or city jail. The other unfortunates, suspected individuals awaiting crime and occasional offenders, are voiceless, and the prison reformer is looked on as a crank or sentimentalist. Consequently the jail goes on its way, a veritable school of crime, and a breeding-place for all sorts of social ills.

The Courts

Ever since society has recognized crime, some method of determining and usually of apportioning punishment has been necessary. Out of these primitive tribunals, many of which used ordeals and cast lots, relying on the supernatural powers to guide them, has grown our elaborate judicial system. In general the same system is used for both civil and criminal cases, a situation responsible for many difficulties. The civil courts in America, at least, are looked upon as distinctly better professionally, and consequently the better judges and the more capable lawyers are found on the civil side, leaving the criminal work to younger or less capable men.

General Criticisms of the Courts.—Like the police, the courts have been the subject of much bitter criticism. In the first place, the law which the courts administer is in no sense adjusted to modern conditions. Then, too, the legal training of judges often makes them look on the determination of guilt or innocence as all-important, and place too much emphasis on procedure. Consequently, technical details such as mistakes in the drawing up of the indictment, can frequently be used as means of escape by clever lawyers. The judges do not usually have the training in psychology or sociology necessary to make them experts in criminology; nor have they the requisite knowledge of penal institutions or social agencies.

The Jury.—For serious crimes the jury system is generally used. Historically, trial by jury has occupied an important place in defending subjects against outrages on person and property by the sovereign, and it may still be a valuable institution in political trials; but the jury system is an absolute failure in dealing with crime. In general, the jury is composed of the less educated members of the community, —the well-to-do and the professional classes usually secure exemption. It is usually deeply influenced by emotional appeal or personal prejudice. There is scarcely ever a jury which has any conception of the social forces underlying crime or of the psychology of criminals. The grand jury before which the preliminary hearing is conducted in many states is even less valuable, if possible, than the petty jury before which the actual trial is held. It is far too large, and hears only one side of the case, that of the prosecution. Some states have done away with the grand jury entirely in criminal cases, and in others it is simply an unnecessary waste of the state's time and money. Students of criminology are practically unanimous that whatever criticism may be made of our judges and our meticulously legalistic system of law, sittings without jury are far more effective instruments of justice than jury trials.

The District Attorney.—The district attorney is the legal agent of the state who prosecutes criminal cases. This officer has tremendous power, for he can "nol pros" or dismiss cases. He is generally an elective official, and is obliged to encounter all sorts of political pressure. As a consequence he is almost always a successful politician rather than a trained criminologist. Opportunities for graft are very numerous, and far too many district attorneys are susceptible. Far more effective criminal procedure would be obtained if the governor of each state appointed a trained criminal lawyer to the position of district attorney on the basis of examination, and promotion were assured for experience and service. Emphatically, the election of district attorneys should be done away with. In some states, fortunately not all, judges also are elected, and they too are under political pressure. The states where judges are appointed and promoted on the basis of service have a better judiciary.

The Judge.—Some criminologists feel that the legal aspect of the court procedure is much over-emphasized; that the criminal constitutes a psychological and social problem quite as much as a legal problem, and that the important thing is to decide the question, not of guilt or innocence, but of social health or disease, and consequently that psychologists and sociologists are more important than lawyers. They would have the criminal judges physicians and social workers quite as much as lawyers; in fact their proposition is to substitute for the judge a group of lawyers, psychologists and sociologists, who would

really constitute a "clinic" before which all the evidence, not only in respect to the crime, but also in respect to the criminal, should be produced, and which after careful deliberation should decide what steps ought to be taken in the best interests both of the criminal and of society. The question of guilt, and particularly of the seriousness of the crime, ought to be entirely secondary. In other words, what is wanted is the attitude already taken in the Juvenile Court, the recognition that the criminal is essentially the ward of the state. He is an afflicted person, whom it may be necessary to care for; that care may involve education, removal to a new environment, medical or mental treatment, possibly punishment or incarceration, or in extreme cases the taking away of life.

Specialization of Courts.—A short step in the right direction is seen in the specialization of courts. The Juvenile Court is the most important, but special women's courts, courts of domestic relations, night courts, etc., are also helpful. Not only should criminal courts and criminal procedure be entirely separated from the civil processes, but specialized criminal problems should be handled with the assistance of specialists,—mental cases, for instance, of psychologists. Another step which has been decidedly effective is the provision of experts to aid the court in securing information about the people who come before it, and in caring for such as are placed on probation. Unfortunately these workers are generally subordinate officers of the court, and frequently are themselves untrained in the technique of social work or psychology. More and more, however, the socialized courts are employing trained workers and are recognizing their data as quite as valid as more legal "evidence." The courts may some day become, what the student of society desires them to be, well equipped clinics for the purpose of dealing with the socially maladjusted. Alarmists claim that such treatment is "soft-hearted" and conducive to crime. This is far from the fact; probation and socialized treatment are the greatest preventives which exist. Untrained probation officers and sentimental judges may be a stimulus to crime; but the trained worker and the socialized judge can do much to prevent it. Great advances have been made in the juvenile courts, and it is from the experience of these courts that the adult courts must learn.

Corporal Punishment

Imprisonment for crime is a comparatively modern form of punishment, dating back no further than the eighteenth century and not coming into general use until the nineteenth. Prisons were used for detaining persons awaiting trial and for debtors, and frequently for convicts who had been fined but had been unable to pay. In earlier so-

cieties punishment was either corporal, such as whipping and branding, or the imposition of forced labor (particularly in the galleys), transportation and banishment, fines, or death. Most of these earlier forms still remain but in much reduced volume. Corporal punishment is very rare indeed in the United States, although prisoners are frequently flogged or put in irons for violation of prison rules. Courts rarely sentence a criminal to whipping, although certain crimes, including wife desertion, are punishable by whipping in some states. The State of Delaware in particular provides whipping for a large number of offences, but it is rarely used (in 1922 but 34 times, 29 of which were on negroes). It is never used for women, and the best public opinion is decidedly against it; in the words of the English criminologist, Devon:

> "At the end you have two brutes instead of one, for the person who is whipped is still a brute, and the one who administers the whipping is made a brute." [18]

There is at intervals some popular sentiment in its favor, but growing humanitarianism has practically eliminated it in all civilized countries. Branding and other forms of corporal punishment have become entirely obsolete.

Forced labor, as such, is also obsolete as punishment, although prison labor may seem to be in the same category. It is the imprisonment which is the punishment, however, and the labor really is a mitigation of imprisonment, rather than an additional penalty.

Transportation and "Passing On."—Transportation or banishment was a very popular form of punishment in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. The American colonies were used for this purpose at one time, but Australia is the most notable example. This method has fallen into disuse primarily because the countries used as penal colonies objected, but also because it was found to be ineffective. It does nothing to solve the problem of crime, and the situation in the penal colonies is likely to become horrible beyond words. Prisons suffer from public neglect and indifference, but penal colonies thousands of miles away are worse. France still maintains some penal colonies in South America, and India has a penal settlement in the Andaman Islands. The present situation in the French colonies is nothing short of terrible, and although the Indian settlement is said to be better, public sentiment is condemning it. The real check, however, is that few countries or sections will allow themselves to be exploited in this way.

A modified form of transportation, however, still obtains in the United States, where criminals are passed on from one state or city to

[18] Devon, James, *The Criminal and the Community*, London, p. 171.

another. Men who are brought before the courts are released on their promise to leave the city. A recent study showed that out of 2300 persons arrested in four counties in California, 2200 were passed on.[19] This widely practised method deserves unqualified condemnation. Nothing whatever is done either for the criminal or for the community, and there is a constant exchange of criminals from one section to another. A definite arrangement, similar to that between relief agencies, should be made between the police departments forbidding this practice except in cases where for some special reason the officials of both cities are agreed that the transportation will serve some useful purpose.

The Loss of Civil Rights.—Another form of punishment, allied to banishment, is the loss of civil rights of one sort or another. In some states a convicted criminal may be deprived of his citizenship, for life or for a considerable period, even after he has served a term in prison; in others he is ineligible for jury service or for public office; sometimes he is held not competent as a witness; and in some states conviction for crime is a cause for divorce. This treatment is of comparatively little value. Undoubtedly some criminals, because of their mental or educational deficiencies, should not be given the rights of citizenship, but their lack of qualification should be the basis of the restriction, not the crime which they have committed. On the other hand, anything which tends to set off the criminal who is returned to the community from other citizens is unfortunate and prevents his resumption of normal life.

The Fine.—The *fine* or monetary payment to the state for crimes is the most common form of punishment now, and as *restitution* to the injured party has much to commend it. Where no one is injured by the crime it is not of great value, and because it is far more serious to the poor man than to the rich is essentially unfair. At the same time there are certain offences, such as violations of city ordinances, speeding, etc., which can appropriately be dealt with by fines, and in which fines serve a very effective purpose. The amount of the fine should be left much more than is at present the practise to the discretion of the court, which should take the financial situation of the offender into account.

For any crime which shows anti-social tendencies, it is questionable whether fines alone are a sufficiently serious punishment. They do not in any sense get at the causative factors and are often a method of escape from the difficult task of finding out what the causes are and remedying them. The levying of fines for certain types of offences is definitely anti-social, for instance fining for prostitution or habitual drunkenness. These and in general all repeated offences,

[19] Sutherland, op. cit., p. 365.

no matter how slight they may seem, should not be punished by fines. For prostitution, it simply amounts to a licensing system and the fine is added to the cost of the business and passed on to the patron. The same situation exists with bootlegging and similar offences conducted on a business basis. One of the defects in our whole criminal system which could be most easily adjusted is the fine system. Each state ought to appoint a commission to study the effect of fines from the sociological point of view, and adjust its fining system accordingly. Unquestionably much promiscuous fining would then disappear.

Capital Punishment.—Aside from imprisonment, only one other form of punishment remains to be considered: viz., the death sentence. Capital punishment is one of the oldest forms of penalty for violation of communal mores. It owes its beginnings to the common feeling among primitive peoples that the criminal has brought on the tribe the displeasure of the gods, which can be appeased only by his death. Until comparatively recent times death was the penalty for many crimes, most of them apparently trivial. In seventeenth-century England hundreds of offences were punishable by death, and the same was true on the continent. The colonies, severe according to modern standards, were far milder than Europe. In recent years the tendency has been to abolish death sentences, until at present it is reserved for but two offences, murder and treason. Even in such cases the death penalty is given with decreasing frequency, and many states and some countries have abolished it altogether, substituting life imprisonment.

There has been much discussion of the capital sentence, far more than the subject itself deserves. As a matter of fact, comparatively few death sentences are actually carried out. Another tendency has been to make the execution of the sentence as painless as possible (electrocution having been substituted for hanging in most states), and also to do away with public executions. An argument commonly advanced for a retention of the death penalty is that it acts as a deterrent to homicide, but studies made both in this country and in Europe do not show that it has any effect on the number of murders. It is far more difficult to secure a conviction which involves death than in other cases, no matter what the evidence may be; then, too, pardons are more freely granted. It is also claimed that capital punishments prevent lynchings; but here again statistics show that the states having the largest number of capital punishments also have the largest number of lynchings. Both are surviving forms of barbarism.

Some few people advocate the death penalty as a means of getting rid of defective delinquents. There is no question that society would

be much better off without some of them; but capital punishment for murder is not the best way of doing it. It cannot be claimed either that the majority of murderers are mentally defective or that the majority of defectives commit murder. While the writer has little patience with the argument that the death penalty decreases the regard for the sacredness of human life, there is much to be said against it as now administered. The publicity and maudlin sentimentality which accompany murder trials produce an altogether vicious habit of mind which results in further crime. More important still, it is contrary to the scientific point of view in the treatment of the criminal. It is quite possible that society would be well rid of an individual who up to the date of his apprehension had committed but a trifling crime; on the other hand, murder, which is a crime of violence, does not necessarily show that the individual is inherently anti-social and that under proper conditions he might not make a good citizen. Murder motivated by robbery is in a somewhat different class; the gunman or professional killer would be much better out of the way. In any case, the same process of carefully sifting the social and psychological factors, and then deciding on the punishment—or treatment—should be used, without any of the concomitants of publicity of the murder trial. It may be that the treatment decided on should in rare cases be death; but not for the purpose of satisfying a spirit of vengeance or for a deterrent effect on others, but primarily for the benefit of society.

Probation

A comparatively new method of dealing with criminals which has spread widely in the United States is probation. Probation has been confused with parole, which is the action taken by prison or other penal authorities in remitting part of a prison sentence and allowing the convict to return to the community under surveillance and on promise of good behavior. This is not probation. Robinson states the difference and resemblances concretely:

"The probation system implies that there are criminals whose reform can be accomplished by supervision and friendly contact alone; the parole system is a system of "probation deferred" until after proper preliminary treatment in an institution of reformatory character. Failure to yield to the influences of probation sends the criminal to prison; satisfactory progress in prison by a criminal not thought suited to probation at the time of his conviction, entitles him to parole. Both probation and parole rely on the prison to do what they cannot do, prison treatment following the failure of probation

and preceding a trial of parole. Probation and parole, therefore, mean the same kind of treatment, but parole is the name applied to it if the criminal has first given a course of sprouts in an institution, probation if the criminal is subjected to it immediately on conviction." [20]

Probation is based on the use of what is known as a continuance of the case, or the suspended sentence. A case is heard and sentence pronounced, but the execution of the sentence is deferred and the case continued; in the meantime the criminal is placed under the control of the probation officer, who must follow him closely, assisting wherever possible, and from time to time report progress to the court, and who may at any time surrender his charge to the court for sentence on account of his failure to observe the terms of his probation. If at the expiration of a reasonable period the convicted person seems to have been restored to a normal life, the case is called up for a final report and placed "on file."

In a sense the probation officer takes the place of the prison. It is his duty to "reform" the individual, if reformation is necessary, or to change his environment so that he may have a fair opportunity; he is *par excellence* a social case-worker. Generally the investigation of cases before their disposition falls on probation officers; some officers object to the combination of investigation and probation, but others prefer making their own investigations in order to determine whether or not probation is feasible.

History of Probation.—The first legal recognition of probation was in Massachusetts in 1878 when the mayor of Boston was authorized to appoint a probation officer. This was in recognition of the work done by Father Cook, who had been giving voluntary probation service for some six years previous. This law was only permissive, and a similar statute was passed two years afterwards extending the permission to the entire state. It was not until 1891 that it was made compulsory in Massachusetts, and not until 1899 that Rhode Island, Minnesota, and Illinois followed this example, the two latter for juveniles only. Since that time, however, probation has spread rapidly, particularly in connection with the juvenile courts. In fact the most important developments in probation have been with the juvenile courts, a development already noticed. Massachusetts is still the only state in which all authorized courts make use of probation; [21] although the Secretary of the National Probation Association estimated that in 1920 there were at least 2000 salaried probation officers in the United States supervising 100,000 delinquents.[22] Of late years there has been a tendency,

[20] Robinson, op. cit., pp. 194–195.
[21] Ibid., p. 198.
[22] Annual Report National Probation Association, 1920, p. 11.

based partly on a recrudescence of the feelings of revenge and partly on defective administration of the probation system, to restrict probation to certain offences, rather than to individuals who would benefit thereby. This has greatly interfered with the development of probation in the adult courts.

The Probation Officer.—One of the great difficulties with the probation system has been the failure to secure competent officers. At first dependence was largely placed upon volunteers, some of them simply kind-hearted individuals, and others supplied by philanthropic agencies. Some of these did excellent work but many others were unable or unwilling to give enough time to the work, and in all cases the court was handicapped through lack of effective control. Even as assistants to paid workers the volunteer has had a very limited field of usefulness in probation. The volunteer plan was tried under excellent auspices in Indianapolis, only to be abandoned after a brief period.[23] While volunteer probation officers are better than none, and while the worker in the private society is superior to the benevolent individual, the professional worker employed under the direction of the court is superior to either. Some courts use sheriffs and court officers in the probation service, and sometimes policemen. This method is thoroughly unsatisfactory because of the absolutely different type of the work involved; under present conditions court and police officers exercise a negative repressive function; the probation officer a positive teaching function. Then, too, neither sheriffs nor court officers like to have additional duties shouldered on them. Judge Lindsey of Denver is his own probation officer; but this is hardly a desirable arrangement. The judge should be in close contact with probation work and understand it, but in most instances he can scarcely do it satisfactorily himself.

The probation officer should be a man or woman (and in most courts both are required) with rare qualifications. He must have a personality which makes him a good example and a good teacher; he requires all the technical training which any good case-worker needs as well as considerable understanding of law and more training in mental hygiene. In addition he must have good health and general experience, and above all intelligence. Technical training and experience in social work is absolutely essential, and more and more those appointing probation officers are coming to see the value of these qualifications, although the idea that any veteran of "the late war" or of a recent political campaign, or any minister or "Y" secretary who has a kind and generous spirit can do the work, dies hard. In this connection as in others, it is difficult to realize that under modern social conditions "kindness" is not all that is required to be helpful.

[23] Robinson, op. cit., p. 208.

The Indeterminate Sentence

Under present social conditions it is obvious that probation will not suffice for all criminals. There are some individuals whose demoralization has gone so far that they need more than can be given them by the most efficient probation officer in their normal environment. For some a change of environment will suffice, and this can frequently be given as one of the conditions of probation. But just as there are sick people who need constant hospital care over a long period for recovery, so there are delinquents who need institutional assistance in getting on their feet again. There are others, too, who through a long period of anti-social activities have become confirmed criminals and who for the sake of society must have permanent care. It would be the height of folly for a physician to send a patient to a hospital, say, with scarlet fever, on the understanding that whether cured or not he was to be sent back to his home at the end of three weeks. The same process of reasoning is beginning to be applied to criminals. The classical notion of a definite period of imprisonment is giving way to the idea of imprisonment to be decided by the condition of the prisoner. The result is the "indeterminate sentence." There have been many criticisms of the indeterminate sentence, from the criminals and their lawyers who feel that sentences thus given are too long, from judges who feel that their power is being taken away from them, and from the public whose complaint is that the sentences are not long enough. The pivot on which the success of the indeterminate sentence turns is the intelligence of the prison authorities, or of the parole board, who determine when to release the criminal. In many instances the prison authorities are even less competent than the judges to fix the term, and in such cases it is decidedly questionable whether the indeterminate sentence is any gain. On the other hand, where the prison officials or the parole board understand the criminal and the community to which he is to return, the indeterminate sentence is a vast improvement on the term commitment. The greatest weakness in the indeterminate sentence, as in all prison sentences, however, is in the prison itself. Few prisons are reformative institutions, whatever their name may be. Few of them compare in their treatment of the delinquent with the poorest hospital in its treatment of the sick. But in spite of this fundamental weakness there is good reason to foster the use of the indeterminate sentence.

The Prison

The theory of penology has centered about the prison, and the practice of penology has concerned itself largely with varying types

of prison. Yet the public knows little or nothing of prisons except when it hears of particularly horrible atrocities or of especially melodramatic escapes.

History of the Prison.—The prison as a means of punishment was scarcely ever used in Greece and Rome or in the Middle Ages, except by the church; the Inquisition was the first administrative body to use imprisonment as punishment. On the other hand, prisons were used for debtors and as places of confinement for "sturdy beggars" (see Chapter III) at least from the period of Elizabeth in England. With the gradual elimination of the death penalty and such other penalties as branding, maiming, and transportation, the prison became increasingly important. The Quakers in Pennsylvania deserve the credit for having introduced the prison in its present form into the colonies; they were opposed to capital punishment and they realized that the county jail in which convicted felons, people awaiting trial, witnesses, debtors, and paupers, were all herded together, was of no social value. Other colonies and later states had set apart separate prisons for more serious offenders, but the "cell" system and the "penitentiary" had its origin in Philadelphia. This idea of "separate and solitary confinement," while it brought much that is evil into the prison system, was of a distinct step in advance for the reason that it brought in the idea of classification. The cells that were built in the yard of the old Walnut Street Prison in Philadelphia were intended for "hardened and atrocious offenders." This idea of the individual cell was copied far and wide, and is still at the base of most prison systems. Provision was made for work, but there was great difficulty in finding work that could be done in solitude; in spite of earnest efforts it was found that most of the prisoner's time was spent in idleness and it was soon seen that the solitude had a very evil effect on his physical and mental health.

The next great improvement was the so-called Auburn System, which took its name from the prison in Auburn, New York, where it was established in 1824. This system continued the practice of the solitary cell for night confinement but added common employment during the day, and the *rule of silence*: absolute silence was to be observed by the prisoners at all times. There immediately sprang up a tremendous controversy between the adherents of the two systems, a controversy that was carried on for many years and extended to Europe. The result was, as might have been expected, that the Auburn System with its greater opportunities for employment won and the older system was finally given up even in Pennsylvania. Neither system was in the remotest sense reformative, and while the Auburn System with separate cells, rule of silence, and common workrooms, still is maintained in most of the prisons in the United States,

other changes will have to be made before the state prison becomes in any sense a socialized agency.

Prison Evils.—The ills of the prison system are many. In the first place, most prisons are over-crowded; cells meant for one person are used for three or four, with an abandonment of whatever good effects solitary confinement may have had—which are questionable—but with grave difficulties in the way of hygiene and sanitation. The health problem in the cellular prison is terrific. Tuberculosis is rampant in practically all prisons, there is little or no provision for the mildly demented (many of whom become demented through the influence of the prison itself), there is no proper provision for syphilitics or other persons with chronic contagious diseases, and generally speaking the prison "hospitals" are a mockery. The use of drugs is common, and it is said that few return from terms of any length in state prisons who have not become to a greater or less degree addicts. The reason is obvious; the demand for excitement, and the vested interests involved in the drug business, coupled with the inferior quality of most prison attendants, make the traffic difficult to check.

The work problem, too, has become important. Free labor has resented the competition of prison labor, and while some states have adopted a plan of having the prison manufacture goods for use only in state and municipal institutions, and some even have used convicts on state construction, others have abandoned the effort and compel most of their prisoners to spend their time in idleness.

The great problem, however, has been that of personnel. The higher prison officials have been chosen mainly for political reasons, and the wages and conditions of the inferior officers have been so low and unattractive that it has usually been impossible to secure the high-grade men that the work demands. From time to time high-minded and capable men have become prison wardens, but they usually are so hampered at every turn by political interference that they give up in despair.

The Reformatory.—The third form of prison discipline which grew up in America side by side with the Auburn System, and which today bids fair to become the dominant system, is the so-called "reformatory." This first came into prominence in connection with institutions for juvenile offenders (previously referred to in Chapter VI), but it has spread to adults. Some authorities deny that the juvenile institutions had any particular effect on the development of institutions of the same type for adults, but in any case they started with the same point of view; viz. that some methods other than solitary confinement and labor were necessary for reformation. The reformatory system saw its beginnings in Australia, where a Captain Maconochie introduced an indeterminate sentence for offenders. They earned

"marks" for good behavior in confinement and a certain number of marks secured their release. This system was adopted in Ireland and thence the idea crossed the Atlantic to the United States, where it was first used in the institution at Elmira, New York, in 1876, by that pioneer in penology, Z. R. Brockway. The New York legislature passed an indeterminate sentence law in that same year, and arrangements were made by which male felons between the ages of sixteen and thirty with no previous penal record might be committed to Elmira for a term not to exceed the maximum sentence for the offense which they had committed. The idea was that under the influences exerted at Elmira many offenders would reform and could be released much earlier. At first the contract system of labor was used, but this was later abolished by statute in New York and in its place Warden Brockway established a complete system of physical and technical training. He had earlier introduced a "school of letters" and also established lectures dealing with social and ethical problems. When an inmate had shown that he could live up to the prison requirements he was placed on parole, and under supervision was allowed to return to the community. If he violated his parole he might be returned to the reformatory; if he succeeded during six months' freedom in securing satisfactory reports from the parole officers he was given his discharge. In theory and to a considerable extent in practice the reformatory idea was a distinct step in advance, and at Elmira under Brockway it made a definite contribution to social adjustment. Other states rapidly copied the idea, until by 1921 there were twenty-nine reformatories for adults (eighteen for men and eleven for women) in eighteen different states.[24]

With the spread of the movement it has in many places suffered deterioration. The lack of well-trained and interested officials, the small appropriations made by legislatures, and the general apathy of the public have contributed to a lowering of standards. In particular, the people sent to the reformatories have not been carefully selected, and in many cases they are not of the type that even the best institution could do much with. The ordinary judge of criminal cases has no adequate information on which to select the more promising types. Investigations of reformatory inmates show that most of them had served previous terms, either in institutions for juveniles or in county jails. One alteration in the original plan is to be commended—that is, the commitment of certain misdemeanants (people guilty of minor crimes) as well as felons to reformatories. It is more and more coming to be seen that the classification of offences as misdemeanors and felonies is entirely artificial and harmful.

The reformatories have had the same general problems of health,

[24] Robinson, op. cit., p. 126.

housing, recreation, etc., as exist in the prisons, but to somewhat less degree. To these have been added special difficulties in the way of providing work which shall be educational, and a definite educational system. These have been met more or less adequately, depending entirely on the personnel of the staff and the interest of the public as reflected by legislative appropriations. If reformatories are to be worth while, it is absolutely necessary for them to have a very high type of officials.

The parole system also presents difficulties of personnel, and it is rarely well administered. The number of parole officers is generally too small for effective work, and appropriations for travel, etc., are inadequate. Consequently dependence is placed on written reports, which are of little value.

In spite of these weaknesses and the failure of many reformatories to live up to the ideals of their founders, there is much to be said for the method. It has brought back the idea of salvage into the prison system, and it is gradually being adopted by the older prisons with a considerable gain in effectiveness.

Results of the Prison System.—Space is lacking here to go into the architectural and hygienic horrors, the brutality, or the routine and soulless administration which characterize most penal institutions. Nor is it possible to recount the various attempts to reform our prison administration through such plans as the Honor System which Thomas Mott Osborne introduced at Sing Sing. The prison, whether the stone-walled medieval fortress, typified by Sing Sing with its darkened cells, or the better constructed reformatory with its farms and parole system, still remains a blot on our civilization. It is claimed by the defenders of the reformatories that they have reformed from fifty to seventy-five per cent of its inmates; but much more accurate investigation is needed before this statement can be accepted at face value.

That prisons or reformative institutions of some kind are needed, almost all criminologists agree; but that the present institutions meet that need, all deny. In fact the present prisons and jails are for the most part colleges of crime; society furnishes at the state's expense first-rate instruction.

The Prison System of the Future.—Competent sociologists advocate the development of the prison system along the following lines. In the first place, there will be specialized institutions for particular types of offenders. Those for juveniles, women offenders, defectives, and the insane have already been established. Other types will develop; in place of the three thousand county jails and the hundred more or less uniform state prisons and penitentiaries, differing types of penal institutions adapted to treat differing types of individuals will

develop, in much the same way as hospitals are developing to treat specialized types of disease. The prison will be looked on as a hospital for the socially ill, and each institution will specialize in some field. A socialized court with good probation and investigation service may be able to send the offender directly to the institution which deals with his particular trouble. In most cases, however, he will need somewhat prolonged observation and examination at a receiving station; these can be located at convenient points where courts may send those who appear to be in need of prolonged treatment away from society. Some states are already experimenting with or suggesting such institutions. After study, a commitment will be made to the institution that seems best suited to his particular needs. All commitments will be for indeterminate periods and all institutions will use the methods adopted in the reformatories and in the institutions for juveniles. The architecture of prisons will necessarily be altered. In some, perhaps a majority, of such institutions, something approaching an honor system can be used to advantage. On the other hand, for institutions which specialize in handling the confirmed professional criminal such methods are out of the question, as they are with the defectives. That is one reason why Osborne's system has not met with more success.

More than on anything else, however, the ultimate success of such a system will depend on the attitude of the administrators. Even the present barbaric cell-block, solitary confinement, and silence system might be made socially useful under competent officials, though it is doubtful. Certainly such methods as the reformatory could be far more effective. What is needed with the prisons, as with all of our other attempted adjustments, is public interest that will require the best type of service. Robinson states that unless we can give the reformatories and other penal institutions a standing comparable with that of the state universities, and their officials a training and competence comparable, presumably, with that of the teachers in such institutions, their usefulness is doubtful. As with the police and the courts the chief problem is personnel.

Summary.—In this chapter the attempt has been made to give a brief statement of the causes of crime and the social adjustments for dealing with and preventing it. It is apparent that crime involves social and psychological factors which go to the very roots of our community life. In the main the efforts that have hitherto been made to meet this situation have been woefully inadequate.

There is needed, first of all, continuous and consecrated study in each community of the social causes—poverty, ignorance, industrial exploitation, foolish legislation, etc.—which conduce to crime, and so far as possible their elimination or at least reduction in volume. The

contribution of the defective and psychopathic to the volume of crime cannot be overlooked, and there is a special obligation to care for such unfortunates. Many normal individuals become criminals through some mental strain; the study of psychology is furnishing much fruitful data as to methods of prevention and cure. All of these efforts and many more should be undertaken by the community for its own good, as much as for the good of the criminal.

Legislative action, the police, the courts and the prisons have heretofore attempted with little success to deal with crime. All of these institutions themselves need reformation. The old ideas concerning vengeance and punishment must be discarded. The criminal must be looked on pre-eminently as a sick man, to be cured if possible; and in any event to be prevented from spreading infection.

Society has sufficient knowledge now, if it were generally disseminated, to make a vast difference in the amount of crime. But the public is ignorant; our educational institutions, our sociologists and psychologists who could give us much, have either remained silent, content to deal with ideas rather than facts, or when they have spoken have been regarded as idle visionaries. It is high time that colleges and universities, law schools and medical schools, not only introduced criminology into their curricula, but made public their information. The suggestion has been made that every criminal lawyer should as part of his preparation serve three months in prison, and every judge at least a year.

There is above all else a need for public information on the failure of our penal institutions, and the causes for that failure, whether political or theoretical. The writer still has faith enough in the intelligence and humanitarian spirit of the average American citizen to believe that if he knew even one-tenth of the facts regarding our absolute failure to deal wisely or even decently with crime and with criminals, he would demand a change. These changes will not come overnight, nor will they come through sentimental demands on the part of soft-hearted prison visitors. They will come when the public is shown that the present system

"stores the criminal away for a few years to deteriorate, and then hands him back to the world to rob, cheat and assault every weaker person who gets in his path." [25]

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[25] Ibid., p. 326.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE NEW VÖLKERWANDERUNG

Many easily accessible books have treated the historical and philosophical basis of the movements of people; [1] hence it is unnecessary here to deal in detail with the phenomena of migration, whether from one country to another or within the boundaries of our country. All that will be attempted in this chapter, therefore, is a brief discussion of the maladjustments which migration engenders and the efforts made to meet them. Many admirable books are readily available which treat this subject at length.[2]

Movement and Maladjustment.—It must be borne in mind that all movements of peoples, whether individual or collective, inevitably require new adjustments. The human animal lives by means of his habitual environment. When that environment changes, new and untried responses are called for, and these do not easily come into being. The problems of the migrant, therefore, are largely those due to changes in environment, both physical and social. The less violent the change, the less the problems involved and the fewer the necessary new adjustments. This concept is fundamental to all considerations of migration. Back of the present attempt to deal with the immigration problem in America through the "quota" plan, which allows a large number of immigrants from countries with environments similar to that of our own than from countries with different environments, lies this idea; not, as many of its opponents and some of its advocates claim, a conception of racial superiority and inferiority.

Economic Basis of Migration.—In the section dealing with Poverty (Chapter III), it has been noted that immigrants contribute largely to the number of the poor; it is probably true also that if the statistical evidence were available, it would indicate that the greater number of native paupers are also migrants. The reasons for the poverty and the general economic problems of the migrant are obvious. In the first place he has generally spent a considerable part of his capital in making the change from one place to another. At the present time, at least, whatever may have been the case in the past, he comes generally because he is comparatively unsuccessful at home

[1] See particularly Parsons, op. cit. Chapter VIII.

[2] Fairchild, *Immigration,* Jenks and Laucks, *The Immigration Problems,* Ross, *The Old World in the New,* for example.

and hopes to better himself in a new environment. Owing to the immensely greater wealth of the newer countries many, perhaps most, of our immigrants do improve their economic position; but this should by no means be allowed to hide the fact that a very considerable proportion are economic failures. Consider the Jews, for example; the financial success of many Jewish immigrants is amazing; and yet in all large centers of Jewish population the Jews themselves spend thousands, and in cities such as New York and Chicago millions of dollars, in caring for their less fortunate fellow countrymen.

Industrialization.—Aside from the fact that the immigrant has little capital when he comes—in fact is frequently in debt for his passage money—there are other considerations which make his economic progress difficult. With the exception of the Jews, most of the immigrants are country dwellers (and this applies to domestic migrants as well) unaccustomed to urban life or industrial employment. The demand for labor in America most likely to be placed before the immigrant is in industry. Even although unskilled, its regular hours, machine-like discipline, and contact with complicated machinery is all new and trying to the agricultural peasant type. Even for the urbanized Jew, American machine methods of production are new, and the difficulty of adjustment is great. Then, too, while wages are high in actual cash, the real wage is not so high as it appears and the immigrant finds the cost of living exorbitant. At home, again, he works alongside of relatives and neighbors; in America he is put into competition with every nationality under the sun; and the rate of work, the driving of foreman and "straw bosses," the constant hum and buzz of machinery, all have their effect on his economic efficiency. A new dietary is needed for the harder work in a more rigorous climate, and this the immigrant often does not realize. Consequently his health and his earning power are often affected. Housing conditions, too, are against him. The single laborers are crowded into construction camps and filthy shanties in the country, or live as boarders in already over-populated tenement houses or in non-family groups in the city. In either case hygienic conditions are low; and health and working ability are often reduced. The married man lives somewhat better; but he too, urged by economic necessity and sometimes by generosity, fills his small tenement with boarders.

Exploitation and Economic Inferiority.—Other factors tend to lower the immigrant's economic position as well as to create social problems of the first magnitude. Immediately on his arrival, and even before, he becomes a prey for exploitation. His ignorance of the language and customs of the new country and his economic dependence make it easy for the unscrupulous to take advantage of him in many ways. Steamship agents over-charge him for inferior accommo-

dations; interpreters wheedle him out of large sums for ineffective service; employment agents exact large fees for non-existent jobs, or for positions so far away that it takes all his money to pay railroad fares; immigrant "banks" fraudulently take possession of his savings; and shyster lawyers prey upon him when he attempts to secure redress.[3] He is employed in the most disagreeable and difficult forms of work, and is paid the lowest wages. His need is capitalized by grasping employers to keep down wages of the native-born and of immigrants who have been longer in the country, and to break strikes and labor unions. This makes him unpopular among the more highly skilled and better organized workers, who consequently tend to ostracize him.

Immigration and Violation of the Law.—But it is not only in the economic field that the immigrant faces difficulties; the same ignorance of the environment creates problems in other directions. Many violations of law on his part are due to ignorance; indeed the ignorance is not always one-sided. Cases are recorded where immigrant men and women have been arrested and even imprisoned for no other reason than that the officers of the law could not understand what they were talking about and thought them either insane or criminals.[4] Customs which are perfectly correct and within the mores of the home country are accounted criminal in the new, for reasons wholly inexplicable to the foreigner. The prohibition law is a case in point. Certain health regulations and hospital commitments create innumerable problems, where neither immigrant nor health officer understand one another.

Admission Procedure.—Perhaps more important than these, and certainly more harrowing to the immigrant, are the utterly mysterious proceedings at the port of arrival. Separation of families for no apparent cause, herding of groups hither and yon, markings, bonds, appeals, courts of inquiry, all create difficulties. Even if our immigration system were thoroughly efficient and absolutely just, its actions would still appear arbitrary to the individual who suffers under them, but when he learns either through his own experience, or through that of others that what is debarable at one port and with one inspector is admissible at another, that political pull at Washington is more efficacious than the most careful representations based on thorough inquiry by social agencies, it is no wonder that he comes to America, or remains here, an unassimilated, unadjusted alien. Even the American social agency, well intentioned as it is, is often a source of anxiety. Many workers are ignorant alike of the language and customs of the

[3] See Abbott, Edith, *Immigration*, p. 597–802, for cases illustrating such exploitation and also for methods adopted by social agencies for helping the immigrant out of his difficulties.

[4] Ibid., pp. 780–781.

country from which the immigrant comes, and in their first contact with the family often suggest actions which, given the immigrant's own standards, are utterly impossible.

It is needless to thresh over the multitudinous difficulties which beset the newcomer; straightening them out is one of the main jobs of all social workers who deal with foreigners, and all studies of immigrants elaborate them in detail. Perhaps the various special studies compiled for the Report of the 1910 Immigration Commission to Congress gives the most illuminating picture of these maladjustments. Here and in the various state immigration reports, notably those of New York and Massachusetts, is a mass of human material.

There are two other fundamental difficulties, however, which create serious problems for the migrating group. The first concerns itself with the breakdown of the family, and the second with the psychological problem of divided loyalty.

Immigrant Family Life.—The second generation of immigrants growing up in America becomes, naturally enough, rapidly adjusted to the environment. Physically they are "to the manor born" and the much abused public school does much to Americanize the children of the newcomers, and the playground and the street probably do more. The child, because of his knowledge of the language and customs, readily becomes the interpreter, both literally and figuratively, between the foreign home and the outside community. This is not so true of immigrants from countries speaking a similar language or with similar cultures. The wider the gap in language and culture, the greater the need of an interpreter. It is comparatively easy in this way for the child to acquire more freedom than he should have, and he soon begins to despise his father and mother as "greenhorns." Not only does he over-ride their instructions in matters where they urge the customs of the older home, but he naturally places all their advice and commands in much the same category, as being "un-American." In the older world from which many of our immigrants come, the family is a compact social unit; America very rapidly breaks down this unit. The child gets out of hand and through association with "the gang," which is typical of the immigrant neighborhood, is often led to anti-social acts. This explains the phenomenon of the increasing criminality in the second generation, and is the source of bitter lament on the part of many immigrants. There is no question that the result is evil. To check this evil, American schools and social agencies must strive to make the children appreciate the real value of many of the ideals which their parents possess.

Divided Loyalty.—The second problem goes deep into the realm of individual and social psychology. Certain standards and ideals become fixed early in life; not only national loyalty, but religious af-

filiation, racial pride, and devotion to local customs and habits are of this type. The development of these ideals and the ready acquiescence in the loyalties of the group create that most precious of all human possessions, "status." Habits and loyalties once formed soon become the most potent forces in the individual life. The immigrant perforce must submit himself to the mores of a community with different loyalties and ideals. Some immigrants, because either their home ties are slight or their loyalty is weakened, find the transition to a new loyalty comparatively easy; others find it very difficult. National societies, transplanted religious organizations, the foreign language school and newspaper, and other vested interests,—all of them existing because of the immigrant's lack of assimilation,—foster the habits and type of mind of the old land. The immigrant is therefore an individual with divided loyalties, and is consequently subject to influences which at times council divergent action. The place of these interests and agencies is legitimate; they help to bridge over the early days of loneliness; and so far as they attempt to create better understanding of the background of the older immigrants in the minds of their children or of the native born, they are distinctly of social benefit. When, however, they carry on a definite separatist propaganda, as not a few of them do, when they handicap the second generation by giving it an education which is different from that of the majority with whom they must live, and when—as is the case with some of the separatist religious bodies—they refuse to unite even with members of their own faith who speak a different language, then they help to perpetuate what should be only a temporary problem.

It is difficult to suggest any method which would at once conserve the traditional virtues which the immigrant brings and at the same time unify his divided loyalties. Genuine loyalty is a matter of slow growth. In the first place, we must give him something to which he can be loyal. It is essential that in all his contacts with Americans, whether in industry, in social life, in the school, or in the church, he must see in their attitude something worth his respect and admiration. Too often we have failed in this regard. Our attitude toward his own cherished customs, also, should be respectful.

At the same time we should frankly realize that divided loyalty is not socially healthful, and so far as possible should use every effort, particularly through the public school, to inculcate a genuine Americanism.

However, the main remedy for this situation is not direct. Real loyalty must be spontaneous. We cannot enforce loyalty even though we can enforce the use of a common language. The most that we can do is to see that the immigrant and his children have every opportunity to learn our language and our customs; and even more

important, that both shall appear worth learning. The fact of the matter is that most permanent immigrants come with every desire to cast in their lot with the people whom they join. The struggle which they must undergo in gradually changing their attitudes on important issues is serious, and they often become discouraged. If they come in contact with the essential American ideals through the conduct of those about them, rather than in words, they get the most powerful encouragement. Too often they see only the seamy side of our national life; and then we wonder why they do not like America and Americans.

On the negative side the development of definitely anti-American vested interests should be discouraged. Many of these grow up with the aid of native interest and money; politicians find them convenient ways of corralling foreign voters, and certain industrial interests consider the foreign-speaking church more docile than the English-speaking one. Even here, however, the positive approach is more effective than the negative. Organizations for clean political education and keen, hospitable, alert English-speaking churches of the same faith as the foreign-speaking,—above all not proselyting missions,—help to counteract the effect of the others; and a broad-minded public school policy, which might allow opportunity for religious education in the language of the foreigner if desired, would do much to offset the acknowledged evil of the foreign-language school.

Adjustments for the Immigrant

In the foregoing section some of the problems, economic, social and psychological, which arise out of immigration have been considered. In those which follow will be sketched, again briefly, some of the adjustments already undertaken, as well as some promising ones as yet only suggested.

Attitude of Mind.—With respect to the immigration policy of the United States, great confusion of attitudes has existed. From the beginning of our country there has been what for want of a better name may be called the "liberal" attitude,—the conviction that America should be the refuge for the oppressed and the downtrodden of the Old World, and that any action which closed the doors was illiberal and narrow. For many years this attitude flourished, and it was and still is shared by two groups, otherwise widely divergent; ardent humanitarians and employers of cheap labor. Besides these there have been in later years the immigrants themselves, who naturally wished that their friends and neighbors at home should be able to come to America. Side by side with this another attitude has gradually grown up on the part of the older Americans, occasioned by

fear of an increasing population with a lower standard of living. This attitude has led to a demand for more and more stringent regulations governing the admission of foreigners.

For seventy-five years there has been a definite conflict between these two groups. Largely owing to the economic danger which American labor has felt in the competition of foreigners, aided by the wave of nationalism during and following the war, the "exclusionist" group is at present dominant, and there is no reason to predict that it will not remain so. Unfortunately, in order to create sufficient public sentiment to enact necessary legislation a race superiority complex has been developed. Not content to rest the argument for exclusion on economic and social grounds, some scientists and more pseudo-scientists have attempted to prove that the newcomers from Europe are definitely inferior to the older stock. This conception, which has been widely accepted, has had most unfortunate results. On the one hand it has stimulated racial consciousness among the foreigners already here, and on the other it has made it possible for the native-born to palliate and even approve the unjust treatment often accorded to them. It has seemed impossible to separate the perfectly reasonable arguments for exclusion, based on the difficulties of assimilation of great numbers and serious economic competition, from fallacious ones based on racial mythology. It should be borne in mind throughout the discussion of immigration that it is thoroughly logical to uphold the most stringent restrictive standards so far as immigrants who are outside the country are concerned, with the most liberal treatment of those already admitted. In fact this attitude of mind is absolutely necessary if we are to assimilate the newcomers and not create in America a caste system based on racial or national differences.

In the opinion of the writer there is every reason for restriction of immigration, and the principle back of the restrictive legislation now in force merits hearty approval. At the same time it is absolutely necessary that far more effective steps should be taken to welcome the admitted newcomer and to give him every opportunity which America affords. Indeed, restrictive legislation is as necessary for the immigrant who is admitted as it is for the native born; the immigrant can actually gain something through his change of habitat only if he comes into a country where economic and social conditions are considerably superior to those of his old home. If the new country is flooded with inhabitants with the same standards as those at home, he will gain nothing; indeed, he will lose, since the social and economic cost of the move has to be considered anyway. The following discussion of actual and proposed adjustments is based on an approval of all restrictive measures which tend to raise the standard of immigrants

admitted and to keep their actual numbers within limits, and at the same time a whole-hearted effort to make the adjustments less painful.

Restrictive Measures

In spite of a considerable agitation against immigrants, beginning with the coming of large numbers of Irish in the 'forties, little effective action was taken until the 'eighties. The various seaboard states, which had been flooded with paupers and criminals from Europe, attempted from time to time to enforce restrictive legislation, but the Federal Government held that such legislation dealt with foreign commerce, and it was declared unconstitutional. Finally, however, the situation became so acute that legislation was passed providing for a head tax and for the exclusion of immigrants with criminal records and of those likely to become public charges. Even this step was bitterly fought, and not until the dawn of the present century was it at all rigidly enforced. The acute problems caused by the coming of large numbers of eastern and southern Europeans between 1890 and 1910 was responsible for greatly increased concern.

Contract Labor Law.—An unfortunate effort to restrict workers who had already secured employment before landing had previously been made, and had resulted in the "Contract Labor Law." The weakness of this law is that it often excludes the best immigrants,—those who have had the forethought to provide themselves with a means of livelihood before coming to the country. It places the incoming immigrant in a peculiarly difficult position. He strives to show that he can support himself, and he strives to show that he does not know of any job by which he can support himself.[5] This law is still on the statute books and is responsible for much deception. It remains because of the backing which it receives from organized labor; but from the point of view of the immigrant and of the country at large it ought to be repealed.

The Literacy Test.—The report of the Federal Immigration Commission in 1910, which represents the most exhaustive study of immigration ever undertaken, showed conclusively that something should be done immediately to restrict the volume of immigration and to afford better treatment to the immigrant. Even before this report, concerted efforts had been made to cut down the amount of immigration, most of which had centered on the so-called "literacy test." The belief of the sponsors of the test was that immigrants who could read and write would be more readily assimilated than the illiterate. From 1896 to 1917 such a test was constantly before Congress and was three times passed by that body, only to be vetoed by Presidents

[5] U. S. Industrial Commission Report, Vol. XV, 1901, p. 647.

Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson. In 1917 a comprehensive Immigration Act, which included a literacy test, was finally passed over President Wilson's veto.

The Act of 1917.—The act of 1917 greatly increased the excluded classes. The literacy test was itself a considerable barrier, but in addition the following groups were specifically barred out:

> idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded person; epileptics; insane persons; persons who had had previous attacks of insanity; constitutionally psychopathic inferiors; chronic alcoholics; paupers; professional beggars; persons not contained in the foregoing classifications who are certified by examining physicians as being in so far defective as to be handicapped in making a living; criminals (non-political); polygamists; anarchists; prostitutes; procurers; pimps; contract laborers; persons likely to become public charges; persons previously deported; assisted immigrants, unless they can prove positively that they do not belong to any of the foregoing classes; stowaways; children under sixteen unaccompanied by parents; Asiatics and Pacific Islanders.[6]

This legislation was a clear-cut attempt to prevent undesirable people from entering. The section regarding Asiatics was a re-enactment of previous legislation excluding Chinese, who because of the pressure of residents of the Pacific Coast had been specifically excluded sometime since. It did not apply to Japanese. It will be noted that with the exception of the clauses regarding Asiatics, all the exclusion was on an individualistic basis.

Group Restriction and the Quota.—The World War temporarily suspended immigration, but at its close it was apparent that thousands of immigrants were preparing to come from the worn out countries of Europe. There was a definite conviction in the United States that more drastic limitation should be established, and in May, 1921, new legislation was passed. All of the previous restrictions were re-enacted, and in addition it was provided that only three per cent of each foreign-born nationality resident in the United States as shown in the census of 1910, should be admitted annually. This was merely a temporary measure, and it was intended that a permanent policy should be passed in the following year. As there was considerable discussion of possible measures this was not done, however, and the 1921 legislation was extended until 1924. During the two years intervening immigration was one of the great questions before the American people, and finally in May, 1924, a permanent immigration bill was passed. This continued the quota system, but used the 1890 census rather than that of 1910 as a basis. This considerably increased the proportion of northern European immigrants. Further-

[6] Summary of Act to Regulate Immigration of Aliens to the United States, Chapter 29, 39, U. S. Statutes at large, Section 3.

more, the new law reduced the quota from three to two percent, to be continued only until June 30, 1927, and provided that after that date the total European immigration should be reduced to 150,000 per annum.

this total to be distributed among the various foreign countries in the same proportion that persons of the corresponding national origin were found in the general population of the United States according to the Census of 1920.[7]

This still further limits the amount of immigration, and since the entire population, not simply the foreign born, is to be taken into account, again increases the proportionate numbers from such countries as England, Ireland, and Germany, whence the original colonists and the early immigrants came.

Japanese Exclusion.—The new law also specifically excluded all immigrants who could not become citizens, that is, all Asiatics, including Japanese. This exclusion was based on the belief that such immigrants were particularly difficult to assimilate, but it provoked a very great deal of ill-feeling in Japan. It would probably have been better to allow Japan to come under the quota along with the European countries, as the number of Japanese so admitted would not have been more than a few hundred annually. At the same time the basis for the legislation is eminently sound. A democratic government cannot afford to admit immigrants who cannot ultimately become citizens.

New Methods of Admission.—Not only did the new law fix a permanent basis for admission based primarily on assimilability, but it also did much to mitigate the hardships of the older system. United States consular officers in foreign ports were authorized to grant "visas" to intending immigrants only up to the number that would be admitted. This did away with the race of steamships to land immigrants the first day of the month, and prevented immigrants from coming only to be turned away because the quota was already filled. Consular officers were also authorized to refuse visas to such intending immigrants as seemed to them inadmissable. A further provision has recently been made for complete examination by United States immigration officials at foreign ports, thus enacting a measure which students of immigration have long urged. Such examination is a very great protection to the immigrant. It awaits arrangements with foreign countries, but Ireland and England have already adopted the plan and examinations are now being made at their ports. This does away with detention at Ellis Island for these immigrants, who know when they sail that they will be admitted to America. At the present time (1926) negotiations are being conducted with other countries for similar arrangements. When

[7] Fairchild, H. P., *Immigration*, New York, 1924. Digest of 1924 Law, p. 461.

they are completed much of the hardship of entry will be done away with. Moreover, the United States inspectors will be far better able to decide on admissibility than the officials on this side of the water; the records of the emigrant in his home country can be more readily verified.

Non-quota Immigrant Families.—The new law also provides for certain non-quota immigrants, including children of immigrants under eighteen, wives of citizens of the United States, former immigrants returning from a visit abroad, ministers, college professors, and students. It is felt by many that the non-quota groups should be still further extended, and that wives and parents of immigrants already well established in this country should be admitted without reference to the quota. The present law sometimes cruelly breaks up family groups, and it is suggested that a loosening of its provisions to this extent would not admit many more immigrants and would prevent much criticism.[8] The present law allows for priority on the ground of family relationship, but those who wish to change it think that the same provisions that govern the alien families of American citizens ought to be extended to immigrants admitted prior to 1924. From the point of view of the family solidarity and contentment of the immigrant there is much to be said for this change, provided it could be safeguarded against exploitation.

Immigrants from other American Countries.—Thus far nothing has been done to place restrictions on immigration from Canada, Mexico, and South and Central America, except the requirements as to health, character, etc., of the 1917 law; there are no quota restrictions. The Mexicans in the southwest, the Spanish Americans and Indians from South America, and the French-Canadians who pour into New England, are as difficult to assimilate as the non-favored European groups, and there is a strong movement now under way to apply the quota regulations to them also. If the philosophy back of the quota law is sound, there is no reason why it should not be extended to the countries of the Western Hemisphere. In fact the exclusion of low-grade Europeans has put a premium on this immigration to supply unskilled labor, and there is no reason to believe that the problems of assimilation which they will develop will be any less difficult of solution.

Effects of Present Law.—Although much might be done to make the administration of our immigration legislation more efficient and more humane, we have every reason to feel satisfied with what has recently been accomplished. It is based primarily on sound sociological principles; first, that the United States is approaching, if it has not already reached, a situation where it does not need increased population; and second, that in selecting applicants for admission it

[8] Lasker, F. S., *Shall We Give Alien Families a Chance*, Survey, February, 15, 26.

shall exclude those groups whose home environment, traditions, and standard of living make them more difficult to assimilate.

International Effects of Exclusion.—There is no use in blinking the fact that the present law has created much hard feeling, as well as some real hardship, in other countries. Some countries, particularly Italy, have felt that the legislation was discriminatory and that it imputed inferiority to those groups which were allowed only a comparatively small number of immigrants. That this was not the intention of the framers of the law is clear from what has already been said, although it must be admitted that much of its popular support came from people who believed in racial inferiority. The hardship, probably only temporary, is due to the fact that during recent years some countries of southern and eastern Europe have become dependent upon the United States for relief from the pressure of their surplus population. With the United States closed against them, they will turn to other countries where the pressure of population is not yet so great; and in time they will be forced, consciously or unconsciously, to adopt an intelligent population policy. There is considerable question whether the population-exporting countries have in the long run been the gainers by emigration anyway. With rare exceptions it has probably meant that the birth-rate has filled the gap left by those who have gone, and that social and economic conditions have remained at the same low level. Certainly the relief afforded by the United States or any other country can be only temporary, as they are bound to become crowded in their turn; the sooner these excessively prolific countries begin to limit their birth-rate, the fewer parts of the world will have to suffer from over-population.

Individual vs. Group Selection.—Some students feel that we still have much to do before we reach a satisfactory solution of our immigrant problem, even on the purely restrictive side,—that our present restriction laws are purely negative and that we should in some way be able to select the best instead of merely keeping out the worst. Such suggestions are Utopian. No country can object to our excluding defective or degenerate groups, but there would naturally be a very considerable outcry if we definitely set out to attract the best. Any attempts at selection overseas would certainly be nipped in the bud.

Although improvements in our methods of selection remain to be worked out, it seems to the writer that these are on matters of detail rather than of general principle.

Reception and Distribution of Immigrants.—In order to carry out the terms of the immigration law the United States Government has been obliged to organize and maintain at the various ports of entry an extensive force of immigration inspectors. Ellis Island in New York

Harbor is the principal immigrant receiving station, but other ports and railroad points along the borders are also covered. The examination is in two main divisions; the first, that concerned with the health and mentality of the immigrants, conducted by the physicians of the United States Public Health Service, and the second, that which concerns the social history and economic status of the immigrant, given by immigration inspectors under the supervision of the Department of Labor.

Criticisms of Ellis Island.—From time to time there has been much criticism of the methods used at Ellis Island and other ports, a good deal of it based on truth. It is asserted that the examinations are superficial, and that the accommodations for the immigrants are utterly inadequate. It must be borne in mind, however, that the government officials are not themselves responsible for the regulations which they enforce, and that they can use only such sums as Congress appropriates for the purpose.

The question of appropriation is a serious one. The various Commissioners of Immigration have pointed out that practically every year there has been a surplus derived from the head taxes levied on immigrants, and have repeatedly asked that this sum be expended on better accommodations and more adequate personnel for the department. Although they have secured increased sums, they have never had enough. Congress and the people of the United States do not seem to realize what effect hasty and superficial service and poor accommodations have on the immigrant just entering the country. It is at the port of debarkation that he gets his first glimpse of America; it therefore behooves the American people to see that he gets a courteous reception. There is much in any medical or social examination which must of necessity be unpleasant,—above all the fear of possible rejection. But pleasant surroundings, an adequate and well-trained personnel, and particularly clean, wholesome detention quarters and hospitals for those detained are essential. So far as possible, too, the inspectors should speak the language of the immigrants and know something of the customs and habits of the countries from which they come.

There has been little complaint about the medical end of the inspection except that there are generally far too few physicians assigned to the task. This means that much ill-health gets by the examiner; it also means that people are often detained unnecessarily for further examination when a more careful initial examination would immediately dispose of the case. Complaints are made of the hospital accommodations, some of which are apparently well founded. So serious have some of these complaints been that they have become the subject of diplomatic correspondence. Many improvements have recently been

made, and with the reduction in the volume of immigration it is hoped that many more will be accomplished in the near future.

Personnel.—The inspectors are Civil Service employees and are comparable in training and salary with post-office and other clerical workers. Few of them speak foreign languages, and fewer still have had the necessary social service technique to render their examination of value. Where genuine adjustments are made for the incoming immigrants, volunteer social work agencies are called in. The most important adjustment necessary is an entire change in the method by which inspectors are selected. While the Commissioner and his immediate assistants are generally men who have made a special study of immigration, the remainder of the force is ill-equipped for its task. It should be recognized that the immigration inspectors undertake a most difficult problem of social selection, and they should be trained, experienced social case-workers, with special equipment for dealing with foreigners. If such a change were made most of the criticism of the immigration department would cease.

Examination Abroad.—An increased use of the examination abroad would do much to forestall criticism, overcome congestion at the port of entry, and make possible a more careful examination. In many instances a thorough history is necessary, and family background, industrial history, criminal records, and health records could be investigated on the spot. The extra financial outlay would be more than compensated for in the long run. Ultimately Ellis Island and other detention stations would be rarely, if ever used.

An Internal Immigration Policy.—In general, any social adjustment in education, in industry, or in recreation which benefits the people at large is of benefit to the immigrant, but there are special adjustments needed in this case. In the first place, the responsibility of the immigration department should not cease when the immigrant passes the examination. The question of distribution is an important one and should not be left to chance. Associated with the immigration department there should be an employment bureau with branches throughout the country to make a special study of the industrial history of each immigrant and the opportunities at the time, and endeavor to place him where most needed. This service should not cease with the first job secured, but should be open to the immigrant constantly, as well as to the native-born worker. Furthermore, such bureaus should attempt to protect the immigrant against exploitation. Our laws are difficult for the foreigner to understand, and the immigration department should have offices which would interpret them to him. Again, immigrant girls and women are frequently exploited for immoral purposes, and need government protection.

Registration of Aliens.—In order that the government should be

able to render the best possible service to the immigrant, it is the belief of many that legislation should be passed requiring registration of all aliens. This would also protect the country against immigrants who pass the portals but afterwards show themselves unfit for residence in America. Registration is vigorously opposed by many individualists who fear it would lead to government and police surveillance similar to that in Europe, but there is much to be said in its favor, both for the immigrant and the nation.

What is needed is that the government should realize that in admitting aliens it undertakes a specific social task, and that until the alien is thoroughly assimilated it has a bounden duty to protect and assist him. This responsibility has never been assumed by our government.

Adjustments in Industry.—In the foregoing paragraphs, the necessity of government employment bureaus for immigrants has been indicated. These will be of little benefit unless private industry can be got to coöperate with them and to use the immigrant's services intelligently. Far too many employers of labor have seen in the immigrant simply a cheap labor supply and have refused to extend to him the consideration which they extend to their inanimate machinery. Leiserson in *Adjusting Immigrant and Industry* points out examples of both good and bad relations. The employer should study his plant from the human as well as from the material standpoint; it is to his advantage that labor should be used most economically and should be satisfied. With this in view "job studies" are essential, and in industries employing foreigners, employment departments manned by workers who know the foreigner's point of view are important. The knowledge of the language of the principal immigrant groups is also necessary. Furthermore, opportunities for industrial training should be provided. Welfare departments also can accomplish a great deal, and they must be manned by socially-minded men and women. Perhaps no one group in the community can do more genuinely to Americanize the immigrant than the employer. He provides the first contact which the immigrant makes with America, except through government officials, and it has a very lasting effect. Incidentally, it is a dividend-paying service to the employer as well. A contented labor supply is worth almost any effort.

Labor Unions and the Immigrant.—But not only the government and the employer can help adjust the immigrant to industry; the labor union also may be a potent force. In the early days of unions the foreigner was neglected and frequently he was the source from which strike-breakers and scabs were secured. Recently the unions have set about organizing foreign workers with very considerable success. Although a part of the effort has been purely self-protection, many union leaders have made a real contribution to Americanization. For one

thing they have helped to assure the worker of an American standard of wages and working conditions. They have also placed before him opportunities to decide questions, to vote on matters which are important to him, and even to become a delegate and leader in industry. This has been real training for citizenship. Some unions are prejudiced against foreign workers, and have lost a definite opportunity, as well as supplying irreconcilable employers with a strong ally. In the main, however, the union has recognized its need of the foreigner and has adjusted its program to his needs. To quote Leiserson:

> "The union is a miniature republic; training him (the immigrant) for American Citizenship by teaching him American democratic methods of dealing with the problems of his work and wages, the things of most vital interest to him. . . . A trade union needs to engage in no Americanizing or proselytizing campaigns to make Americans of immigrant workmen. If it is efficient and successful as a union, it unites all the workers in the industry and imperceptibly fuses native and foreign born into a common folk." [9]

Immigrant Education.—The greatest handicap from which the immigrant suffers, and to a lesser extent his children, is lack of knowledge of the new country. As a result of the experience of the war, national attention was drawn to the need of doing more than had previously been accomplished through the regular public school channels. Prior to the war there was generally a complacent attitude toward the results in regard to the education of immigrants; the school was the greatest single factor in the "melting pot" machinery, and most people believed that the Americanism taught there actually made Americans of children from all parts of the world. To an extent this was true, but the war revealed the fact that thousands of immigrant children had never attended the public schools, and thousands more had never received any notion of what the traditions of the United States were. It was further evident that the first generation of immigrants frequently did not understand the language of the country, nor its government and customs. Scattered attempts had been made to meet the needs through night classes in English, but the results had been insignificant.

The war aroused great interest in Americanization and immigrant education. Unfortunately most of the interest died down after the war, and anyway too much of it was of the kind that called for compulsory Americanization. There has remained a strong movement in favor of teaching English; legislation compelling the use of English in the parochial schools is one notable result. Another step forward has been the development under state auspices of English classes for

[9] Leiserson, W. M., *Adjusting Immigrant and Industry*, 1924, p. 245.

adult immigrants, both in connection with the schools and in industry. But the knowledge of English by either first or second generation immigrants, is merely a desirable first step and by no means all there is to immigrant education.

The whole subject of immigrant education needs careful study. Some states, notably California and New York, have carefully worked out a system of education with the needs of each particular group of newcomers in mind. In many communities, on the other hand, little is done except scheduling classes, and putting certain perfunctory exercises in history and civics into the regular school room. Immigrant education must be so conducted that the immigrant himself will desire it. This means that it must be given at such hours and in such locations as are accessible, and that its advantages must be made obvious. Furthermore it is being recognized that all immigrants, just as all native-born, are not alike, and that one system of education will not apply to all. Each community must study its own particular needs and arrange its educational program accordingly.

Adult education is at best a difficult task, and it is practically impossible to outline in a general way how it should be undertaken. Perhaps the only general statement that can be made is that it must not be compulsory, and that so far as possible it should be individualized. One other important suggestion may be made; strenuous efforts are needed to reach the female immigrant. After all it is the home which does the most to shape the attitude of the young, and it is the mother who is the determining factor in the home. Immigrant women are hard to reach, but a knowledge of customs and habits and special adjustments in particular cases has made it possible.

With the children the task is far easier. They are in the schools, and can be reached; the school boards and the teachers realize the importance of doing so. The fact should be made evident that it is practically impossible to teach not only the English language but American customs and traditions to the children of the foreign-born incidentally; at the beginning, at any rate, special arrangements are required. Special classes for foreign-speaking children should be more common. Teachers must be specially trained for such classes, and if possible have some knowledge of the language spoken by the most numerous immigrant groups, and some acquaintance with their history and customs. It is particularly necessary that opportunity be given for individual instruction, and this means small classes. In the higher grades and secondary schools it can be taken for granted that the language difficulty is overcome, and here the emphasis should be laid on the history and social and economic life of America. Our schools are beginning to realize the importance of the social sciences in the grades for all children; for the immigrant children such training is absolutely

obligatory. It may be assumed that the native-born get a certain amount of such knowledge at home; with the foreigners such an assumption is not possible.

The Foreign Language School.—The foreign language school is one of the greatest difficulties in the way of education of the immigrant's children. Such schools, it seems to the writer, must submit themselves to thorough supervision by state departments of education, which must insist on teaching not only in the English language, but in the American tradition. In fact, much might be gained if the foreign-language school were taken over by the state and supported through taxation. It might then become simply an adjunct to the public school system, furnishing religious education in foreign languages, if desirable, to certain groups in the community. For their regular school work they would attend the ordinary public school. This would meet at once the demand for religious education, and the vital necessity for American education.

Immigrant Aid Organizations.—In addition to the various governmental,—state and national,—organizations helping to adjust the immigrant to the new community, there have grown up a number of privately supported groups, most of which have done excellent work. Many of these are supported by older immigrants of the same national or racial groups as the newcomers; others, by the public at large.

The latter can be dismissed in a few words. The Immigrants Protective League of Chicago is perhaps the most outstanding organization of this kind. It has existed for a number of years and takes a wide view of its task. It is essentially a case-work agency, specializing in immigration problems. An illuminating description of the remarkable achievements by this organization in straightening out all sorts of difficulties from "lost baggage" to "lost girls" is given in the case-records in Abbott's *Immigration*. These records give also a cross-section of the difficulties which the immigrants meet, and show what can be done to aid them. The methods of these agencies are essentially the same as those of other case-working organizations, described in the next chapter, with special adaptations to non-English speaking groups. They accomplish a very important task in adjustment.

Most agencies dealing with the immigrant consist of national or racial groups, and the efficiency and worth of their work varies a great deal. Some of them are little more than camouflaged exploitation groups, making money from industrial placement of the immigrant or the control of his savings. Others are thoroughly well-intentioned, but because of their own lack of knowledge of American customs and institutions and of social-work technique, are ineffective. The extreme narrowness of some of these organizations and their racial or

national exclusiveness are factors in making their work undesirable. On the other hand, some of the national societies, particularly those organized by Jews, provide themselves with the best trained social workers available, and exert all their efforts toward assimilation of the immigrant. These nationalist societies, in common with all philanthropic institutions dealing with immigrants, ought to work in closest coöperation with the American agencies and under governmental supervision. This is particularly true of the insurance and benefit societies; many of the well-intentioned ones come to grief through their lack of knowledge of business details, with consequent loss of savings of the immigrants. There is much to be said for the well-organized national society. It really knows the immigrant's needs and if it is oriented toward assimilation it can accomplish far more than either governmental agency or private society. Some "one-hundred-per cent Americans" would do away entirely with these natural groupings, but the tendency of thoughtful students is to encourage their organization, and at the same time see to it through governmental inspection and community responsibility that they are financially and socially well-conducted, and that so far as possible they have as their primary purpose the assimilation of the immigrant to American life.

The Foreign-Language Press.—The problem of the foreign language press is similar to that of the foreign-language organizations. It is necessary for the first generation immigrants if they are to know what is going on in the world or in America. At the same time there is a natural temptation for the foreign-language press to stress sepratist tendencies. Suppression of the foreign language press is eminently undesirable; coöperation on the part of Americanization agencies will accomplish far more favorable results.

The Northern Migration of the Negro

In some respects even more helpless than the immigrants from overseas are the thousands of American negroes who ever since 1915 have been leaving the plantations of the far South and landing, penniless and bewildered, in our northern cities, particularly Chicago, Detroit, and New York. They are far more ignorant than the foreigner and they have in addition the terrible handicap of color difference. Their greatest asset is their command of the English language.

The reasons for their coming North are threefold; first, the boll-weevil and the consequent depression in cotton; second, the enormous demand for unskilled labor in the North owing to the shutting off of immigration, at first because of the war and later because of our restrictive legislation; and third, the better opportunities for education and social life which the North affords.

Being a poor, unorganized group they have crowded into the worst sections of the cities with deplorable housing conditions, and have accepted, at first at any rate, unskilled and poorly paying positions. The change of climate affects their health and the change in environment their morale. Then, too, racial discrimination has been used against them both in industry and in securing homes. The worst results have been the awful race riots in Chicago, Washington, and East St. Louis, but the situation has been only less serious in many other places.

The riots brought the dangers to public attention and as a result effective inquiries, such as that in Chicago, have done much to ascertain the exact situation.[10] Strong organizations such as the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People have been formed and are doing a great deal both to prevent unjust discrimination and to see that the negroes secure adequate industrial and educational opportunities. Such efforts have been supported both by the more intelligent and better-off colored people and by the socially-minded whites, but there is need for much more work along this line. The Protestant churches can do and are doing much, for since the negroes are Protestants there is no objection to missionary effort. In the main, however, the adjustment must take place through coöperation of the whites and the leaders among the negroes. While such serious disturbances as the recent shooting in Detroit, where a respectable colored physician was obliged to shoot to kill to protect his home against white raiders, show that all is not as it should be, the success of interracial councils, even in Southern cities, and coöperative efforts such as those noted above in the North, give reason for hope.

Internal Migration

The factors back of the migration from country to city and the social problem in both are well known and have been admirably treated in a number of recent books.[11] That this movement has been a phenomenon of tremendous importance in creating social maladjustments, is evident to anyone. Although the change is by no means as great as that involved in country-to-country migration, it has powerful effects on social life. The country becomes depopulated and loses its leaders, and there is a general breakdown of community life. The city, likewise, is unable to adapt itself immediately to the new conditions, and the newcomer with no public opinion and no neighborhood group to fall back on for support, is lost as an individual in an aggregate of other individuals.

[10] The Negro in Chicago, Report Chicago Commission Race Relations.
[11] See especially, Parsons, op. cit., pp. 142–155.

Types of Disorganization.—One extreme of social disorganization is found in the isolated country districts and villages where lack of school facilities, difficult communication, intermarriage, illegitimacy, and particularly the exodus of the successful and enterprising, lead to decay. The other extreme is the city slum; particularly the boarding house district where the homeless man and the wandering family rub shoulders with vice, commercialized amusement, and poverty in their lowest forms. The rooming-house district is to the city what the "hill-town" and "misery-spot" are to the country. The development of both of these types of disorganization has recently been the subject of considerable study. Professor Geddes in England and the University of Chicago group in the United States are making remarkable progress in unravelling the various factors which go to make up city life, and although there is not the same definiteness of study in the country, much has been done in rural surveys, particularly in connection with the rural church. Studies of degenerates such as those of the Jukes, the Kallikaks, and the Nams on the one hand, and the surveys of the rural church by W. E. Wilson on the other, have thrown much light on this subject. The problem of the rural town has not been adequately treated, but such books as H. P. Douglas' *The Small Town* are suggestive. The records of social agencies, such as the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and the New York State Charities Aid, throw much light on rural degeneracy.

Community Organization.—The adjustments necessary both in the country and in the city center about community organization and will be dealt with in the chapter on that subject. In both, they involve a re-invigoration of the neighborhood group. In the country the church is particularly important; but equally and perhaps more fundamentally, the economic conditions of rural life must be bettered. Such a betterment is already under way, and the introduction of the rural free delivery, the telephone, the automobile, and the radio are transforming the country. There is still, however, in both country and city a definite need for a re-creation of a genuine neighborhood spirit. The individual must once more become a part of a definite social group.

In the city, in addition to more adequate community organization, there is need to grapple with many concentrated social ills. Poverty, crime, commercialized amusement, prostitution, all prey on the newcomer even more than on the regular city dweller.

The Rooming House.—The problem of rooming-houses is particularly acute in the cities. They cannot be done away with, but city governments and social organizations could see that their more obvious evils are eliminated. Sufficient space, adequate reception rooms, and certain simple character qualifications might, at the least, be required of the keepers of such establishments. The licensing of rooming-

houses might meet this situation. The development of recreational facilities and the making of community and neighborhood contacts is an even more difficult task. The church can do much, but it cannot entirely fill the need, nor is the settlement sufficient. There is need of an as yet undeveloped community organization which shall appeal to the unattached individual who perhaps is out of sympathy with organized religion and feels that the settlement is primarily for the foreigner or the very poor.

The Homeless.—Closely connected with the problem of the migrant from country to city, and yet having aspects of its own, is that of the homeless. We are accustomed to the phrase "the homeless man," and essentially this describes the type, for the number of homeless women is almost negligible. The few women wanderers under the present social system are almost always either psychologically abnormal or prostitutes. With the growing use of women in industry a group of homeless women analogous to men may be developed.

The Homeless Family.—There has recently developed with the cheap automobile, the "wandering family"; a group of vagrants who constitute a special problem because they carry their children along with them. The existence of this group is not new, as every social worker in rooming-house districts knows, but the automobile, furnishing them with a new means of transportation, has greatly increased their number. In general they also are psychologically abnormal. Many are mentally defective, some are insane, and others border on the criminal type; and a considerable number are health seekers. The particular difficulty with them is that they are passed on from one community to another and no one community keeps them long enough to find out just what the trouble is. It should become a settled policy of all social and civic agencies to place them under some sort of restraint until an adequate physical, mental, and social diagnosis is made. They readily become criminals and are usually seed-beds of disease and immorality. Far too many communities rid themselves of the responsibility by furnishing enough gasoline to take them to the next large town.

The Hobo.—For some time considerable attention has been paid to the tramp, without much attempt to separate the genuine migrant or seasonal laborer seeking work from the definitely unemployable. Our uncoördinated labor system has given rise to a considerable number of men, many of them immigrants, who are employed only at seasonal occupations, and who must move on from job to job during the year. Frequently they become stranded; they often meet with accidents, and too many become so inured to a roving life that they become typical hobos. Many of these men are the victims of industrial depression; they remain unemployed for so long that they ultimately

become unemployable. Just how many "homeless men" there are in this country we have no means of knowing. Anderson in his recent study *The Hobo* estimates that there were approximately half a million homeless men in Chicago alone during the winter of 1921–1922. If the estimate is at all correct, and allowing for the fact that these same men would appear in the estimates of other cities, and that Chicago is the greatest "hobo" center in the United States and probably in the world, still, there must be several million homeless men every year wandering over the United States.

Causes of Vagrancy.—The causes that force men to leave home and become wanderers are classified by Anderson as follows: [12]

1. Seasonal work and unemployment,
2. Industrial inadequacy,
3. Defects of personality,
4. Crises in the life of the person,
5. Social or national discrimination,
6. Wanderlust.

He believes that the order given represents the comparative contribution of the various factors, and places the first far above the others. In most cases, as in other social conditions the causation is multiple. Unemployment affects first the industrially inadequate and those with defects of character; also those subject to special strain in their personal or family relations or to racial discrimination, and the unduly adventurous readily become permanent wanderers.

The relationship between homelessness and disease is brought out in Mrs. Solenberger's study *One Thousand Homeless Men.* Of the 1000 men studied, 627 were either mentally diseased or physically ill or crippled. Of course it must be borne in mind that these were the most dependent of the homeless men group. As previously noted, 132 were over sixty years old.

Adjustments for the Migratory Workers.—Many of these homeless men become criminals, and others confirmed "bums" or beggars. The various missions and "hang-outs" which abound in the rooming-house quarters of all large cities provide temporary accommodations for this type of social parasite. The largest proportion of homeless men, however, are migratory casual laborers, and for them much can be done. In connection with the immigrant the need of a governmental employment service has been mentioned. Such a service would be of immense assistance to the migrant worker, whether native or foreigner. It could not only inform him of the location of work but could do something to fit the work and the worker, as well as to safeguard the conditions of work itself. Arrangements for transportation, pay, living conditions at work, etc., as well as for remittance to

[12] Anderson, N., *The Hobo,* Chicago, 1923, p. 61.

families at distant points, could be taken care of. There should be attached to each office a trained social worker who would look after the social problems of the applicants. In addition a medical examination should be given to each applicant. This would do something to protect the worker against inroads of disease, as well as to protect the communities in which he worked.

The Workingmen's Hotel.—In addition, either the nation or the states, or more probably the municipalities, should maintain sanitary workingmen's hotels closely connected with the employment service. Such establishments could be made self-supporting if properly conducted. The City of Montreal conducts a municipal refuge with an employment bureau attached which in many respects is a model. There a medical examination is given each applicant, he is forced to take a hot bath, and he is furnished with a decently clean bed. In addition, he is obliged to register at the employment office. So far as possible the existing private workingmen's hotels—many of which are the lowest sort of hang-outs and "barrel houses"—should be abolished by city health regulations. They are unsanitary and constitute a distinct fire menace. The various missions for homeless men, while somewhat less open to objection on sanitary lines, often encourage mendicancy and provide a refuge for those who desire to escape work. Many of the missionaries are primarily concerned with the salvation of their clients' souls and pay too little attention to their bodies.

Unemployment Insurance and Regularized Employment.—Perhaps more important than all, is the adoption of a universal system of unemployment insurance and a thorough attempt to regularize employment. That this is distinctly possible, the experience of many large industrial concerns has already shown. Furthermore large governmental and industrial projects should be outlined which can be used during slack periods to take up the surplus labor supply. The Federal Department of Labor, together with the state departments and the government and state employment services, should constantly be working along these lines. Much vagrancy would thus be eliminated, and other misery as well.

Cleaning up the Disorganized Neighborhood.—Whether it will ever be possible to "clean up" or better still "clean out" the sections of the city in which these homeless men congregate with innocent newcomers and vicious criminals, is uncertain. In every city plan, however, the existence of such disorganized neighborhoods should be noted and steps taken for their eradication. In almost every city such neighborhoods are the breeding-places of vice, crime, and disease.

Case-work and the Homeless.—Social agencies need to be developed to deal with homeless men on a case-work basis. Many of the young can be restored to a position in society, and the men who are

wandering about for work can be helped. Others are deserting husbands and runaways who might with proper guidance and advice be sent back to their own community.

The homeless men present a difficult but by no means an impossible problem. With the steps outlined their numbers can be materially reduced, and when the mass is resolved into its individual components, as Mrs. Solenberger's study shows, much can be done for them. The elimination of the neighborhood in which they congregate would be a very material step forward. Generally speaking the homeless man is the end product of many of our other maladjustments, economic, social, and hygienic. As these are conquered the number of individuals who sink into this lower level of dependency will be reduced.

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CHAPTER XVII

SOCIAL CASE-WORK

If the reader will call to mind the various adjustments suggested in the preceding chapters, he will see that they may all be grouped under one of the following heads: (1) social research, involving scientific inquiry into causes of trouble and effects of proposed cures; (2) education, based on intelligent information and crystallizing into laws or changes in social customs; (3) community organization, a re-integration of social groups or the creation of new groups for specific purposes; (4) or social case-work, a re-integration or re-orientation of individuals.

Research and reform are the commonly accepted methods of change, not only in the social field but in all human activities and in many other scientific realms. Their function has been discussed in considerable detail in the preceding pages, and a summary of their general possibilities will be undertaken in the concluding chapter. The functions of community organization will be discussed in the chapter following this.

In this chapter an attempt will be made to outline briefly what is meant by social case-work, how the case-work method is applied to socially maladjusted individuals, the growth of case-work agencies, particularly the charity organization movement—which may be said to have been the mother of case-work,—and finally the broadening out of case-work into other related fields.

What Case-work is.—It is not as easy as it might seem to define social case-work. It is old in practise but new in theory. There have always been people who because of native ability to analyze or diagnose a social problem and innate tact in making the necessary adjustments have practised, however crudely, the art of social case-work. Such people were aptly called "straighteners" in Samuel Butler's *Erewhon,* and in that utopian society they occupied an important and recognized position. The difference between the definitely recognized social case-work method and that of the person who unconsciously practises social case-work is important, however. There is no question that *The Good Neighbor,* to use the title of Miss Richmond's little book, is a genuine case-worker, but as different from the trained case-worker as is the Good Samaritan from the scientifically trained physician. The latter's helpfulness is based on arduously acquired knowl-

edge. He may have, indeed must have,—if he is to be a successful physician,—certain native qualities, but in addition he must have training and experience. So also with the case-worker.

Case-work differs from other forms of social adjustment primarily because it is concerned with developing personality. The unit of work is the individual or the family, and the aim is to utilize all the factors of individual personality—biological, psychological, environmental, and social—so that the individual may make a more satisfactory adjustment to the community. A definition of social case-work which seems to cover these processes adequately is that given by Miss Richmond:

"Social case work consists of those processes which develop personality through adjustments consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment." [1]

Necessity of Case-work.—No matter how many of the social improvements suggested in preceding chapters become realities, there will still remain individuals who for one reason or another are not in harmony with their environment and to whom individual attention must be given. At present such adjustments are mainly confined to the poor, the ill, the immigrant, and the delinquent, but more and more we are coming to see that there are others also socially out of tune. Ordinarily the individual makes his own more or less successful adjustments, but in times of crisis or of serious ruptures in any one of many social relationships, the aid of the social case-worker is invaluable. To quote Miss Richmond once more:

"So long as human beings are human and their environment is the world, it is difficult to imagine a state of affairs in which both they and the world they live in will be in no need of these adjustments and readjustments of a detailed sort." [2]

History of Case-work.—If, as the writer believes, social case-work is so fundamental and so permanent, it is desirable to know something of its methods and its possibilities. It owes its origin largely to the charity organization movement which started with the work of St. Vincent de Paul, Ozanam, Count Rumford, and Thomas Chalmers. The labors of these social philosophers resulted in the development of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Hamburg and Elberfeld systems of relief, and the Charity Organization Societies. All of these men felt strongly that the medieval system of poor relief was not only inadequate but even positively harmful. The methods adopted varied widely in different countries and under different con-

[1] Richmond, M., *What is Social Case Work*, New York, 1922, pp. 98–99.
[2] Ibid., p. 98.

ditions, but behind them all was the intention to ascertain what the cause of need was and then bravely to attempt to deal with that cause. In modern terms this means diagnosis of each individual case, and then treatment based on the diagnosis. In essence this is the method of the case-worker today, just as it was of Chalmers in Edinburgh over a century ago. The basis of social case-work is concrete study of the individual in his environment and of the problems which he presents, and then with a knowledge of the resources of the individual and his environment, the adjustment of the one to the other with as little friction and as completely as possible.

The Charity Organization Movement.—Since case-work has seen its most complete development through the efforts of the charity organization societies, it is not out of place to devote a paragraph or two to the history of this remarkable movement.

The first charity organization was launched in London, England, in 1869. It was fortunate in securing the support of some of the ablest and best men and women of the time, among them Edward Denison, Octavia Hill, and Sir Charles Trevelyan. Associated with them were such people as John Ruskin, William E. Gladstone, and Cardinal Newman. Its attempt at prevention and neighborhood organization along the lines marked out by Chalmers and its insistence in the case-work method, although never making it a popular organization, appealed to the constructive liberalism of middle-class England. It developed slowly but on a firm foundation, and gradually the movement spread throughout the United Kingdom.

The American societies were direct outgrowths of the English effort. The first American society, established in Buffalo in 1877, was organized by the Rev. S. H. Gurteen who was previously associated with the London C. O. S., and it was practically a transplanting of the English idea to an American city. New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and others of our larger cities followed the example of Buffalo, and in these cities especially the influence of Octavia Hill was memorable. Following these beginnings in the 'seventies and 'eighties, the movement spread rapidly over the United States, although during the first quarter-century of its existence it was almost entirely confined to the large industrial centers. Since 1900, it has become evident that the same principles were equally applicable in small urban centers and even in suburban areas, and as a result the number of charity organizations in the United States has mounted into the thousands.

With this increase of numbers, and inevitable dilution of personnel, not all charity organizations have lived up to the ideals of their founders. On the other hand, the rich experience of some of the earlier workers and the inspiration of some of the keener of recent

recruits have developed a method of work far superior to that of the pioneers.

The Russell Sage Foundation has a division for the promotion of the charity organization movement and a federation of the societies has been organized. Both the Russell Sage Foundation and the American Society for Organizing Charity have done excellent service in developing new organizations and in strengthening those that were weak. It is probably due to their efforts that of all social agencies the charity organizations come the nearest to having similar ideals and practices the country over. While there are wide variations, the method of case-work, the mechanisms outlined below in either a rudimentary or highly developed state, are found in nearly all charity organization societies. Taking social agencies by and large, it may still be said that the charity organization workers are the best trained and their group the best organized.

Tendency toward Specialization.—In recent years with the development of specialized case-working agencies such as children's societies, juvenile court workers, and the medical-social agencies,—a development, by the way, mainly initiated by the C. O. S. workers themselves,—the work of the charity organizations has been increasingly devoted to family maladjustments, with particular emphasis on poverty. Although relief is an integral part of this work, the emphasis of the movement has always been not primarily on relief but on service. Again, as will be seen in the succeeding chapter, definite community efforts have largely superseded the earlier activities of the C. O. S. in the organization field. Consequently a feeling has developed that neither "charity" nor "organization" aptly described the functions which these societies are rendering, and that "charity" especially laid them open to misconstruction. There has therefore been a rapidly increasing tendency to change the name from "Charity Organization" or "Associated Charities" to "Family Welfare Society." This change of name, however, makes little difference in function, and the "Family Welfare Societies" still remain the great examplars of the case-work method.

Diagnosis.—The first step in all good case-work is diagnosis. Too many critics have carped at

> "Organized charity crimped and iced,
> In the name of a cautious, statistical Christ,"

not realizing that it is only by finding the root cause of the difficulty can any real good be accomplished. Immediate relief is often necessary in cases of need, just as immediate hospital care and sometimes opiates are necessary in illness even before the doctor can make a satisfactory diagnosis; but neither the material relief nor

the opiate constitutes adequate treatment. In other than relief cases it is much easier to focus the attention on diagnosis, and consequently social diagnosis has in many ways advanced further in hospital social work, for example, or in child care, than with the relief agencies with whom it originally started.

An adequate social diagnosis includes, first of all, the impressions which a trained social worker obtains from the individual himself, with special consideration of his own story of his difficulties supplemented by all available information from members of his immediate family, relatives, employers, teachers, friends, and associates. A very important aid to adequate social diagnosis is medical evidence; almost equally important are the documentary proofs of birth, death, marriages, etc., and finally the record of contacts with other social agencies. It is obvious that some of this information is difficult or impossible to get, that it all takes time, and that it is all subject to error. The final step in diagnosis is perhaps the most important: a comparison of the evidence and an interpretation of all the material so that a definite plan of treatment may be worked out. It will be seen that this is a task in social science that is comparable with the delicate laboratory technique of the natural scientist, conducted unfortunately under far less favorable conditions. But difficult as it is and subject to error as it must always be, it is fundamental to any satisfactory social case-work, indeed to any satisfactory individual adjustment.

And it is not an impossible task. The better equipped social agencies in many different fields succeed in making an approximation to the diagnosis outlined in a considerable majority of the cases to which they give treatment. This applies to the charity organization societies, the widows' pension administrators, child welfare agencies, juvenile court investigators and probation offices, medical social workers, mental hygiene assistants, immigrant aid societies, and a list of other groups working with individual cases.

Treatment.—It is impossible definitely to separate diagnosis and treatment in practise, whatever may be the case in theory. Some treatment must often be given immediately in extreme cases, and in most cases considerable must be done before sufficient information is at hand to make a diagnosis. Furthermore, as in medicine, the way in which the patient responds to treatment assists the diagnosis. Again, the factors involved fluctuate; they cannot be controlled like the experiments in the laboratory, and at any time new forces may enter the field, changing the situation completely. Of course, the more thorough the investigation before diagnosis, the less liability there is of error, but social treatment, like medical treatment, must be elastic, and the

social worker, like the scientist in other fields, must be ready with the uncovering of new evidence to change his whole plan.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, even to attempt to outline the methods of treatment; they are many and various. With the vast majority of the socially maladjusted there is illness, either chronic or acute, and the attempt is made to restore the individual to normal health, and at the same time to remove causes predisposing to ill-health that exist in his environment. With immigrants, and unfortunately with far too many natives as well, there is defective education. Here, the same process is used. In the case of health and education the treatment is often unsuccessful because the community lacks the resources which make these "goods" accessible to those who need them. The discovery of institutional deficiencies in the community, and of factors predisposing to maladjustment, is of as much importance as actual "case-work" accomplishments.

But it is not only health and education which are lacking; all sorts of needs are unearthed, some of them remedial and others hopeless. It is the social worker who has made the community realize the problem of the mental defective, and it is largely the evidence of social case-records which has brought about the progress already made in providing institutional care. The case-worker utilizes to the utmost the existing institutions and in so doing finds out their needs, as well as the needs of his client. The pressure by case-workers on courts has been instrumental in developing the juvenile court, probation, and specialized types of penal institutions.

There has been so far no authoritative book dealing with case-work treatment such as fortunately exists in the field of diagnosis.[3] In fact while the general principle underlying treatment, viz. adjustment of individual to environment, runs through all types of problems, the practice is so different in dealing with different types that it would be difficult to write any such book. For the principles of treatment that have been worked out in the varied fields of social case-work, as well as for any accurate description of the methods used, one must consult the books dealing with specific problems. The present book attempts to give merely a brief indication of a few of the most generally used methods.

The District System.—In order to deal intelligently with problems of poverty, Chalmers divided his parish into small areas in charge of which he placed a single visitor. The Hamburg and Elberfeld systems as well as modern charity organizations have followed the same general idea. In fact it may be said that a fundamental requisite for successful case-work is such a division of the work,—the

[3] Richmond, M. E., *Social Diagnosis*, New York, 1916.

"case-load," as it is called in technical parlance,—that it can be carried by the worker. No single worker or group of workers can render adequate service to a very large group of clients. If there is an overload—as there is all too frequently in times of stress—the work becomes more and more a matter of routine; investigations become stereotyped and treatment is made through office interviews and in haste. The principle early became established of adopting both a geographical and a numerical delimitation of the field. The geographical unit makes for economy in time and also for increased knowledge on the part of the worker of the community resources. The advantages of the limitation of numbers is obvious. Some agencies prefer to specialize by type of problem rather than geographically. There is much to be said for this method also, particularly with highly specialized problems, such as those of the homeless man, the unmarried mother, the immigrant, etc. The really important thing is to see that the worker is not over-loaded.

The Case-record.—A second important feature of case-work is the record. Of course much good case-work has been done without record-keeping, but if there is to be any study of principles, and particularly if one worker and one agency is to learn from the experience of others, good record-keeping is essential. So important has this purely mechanical factor become that one of the standards by which the effectiveness of an agency is judged is the quality of its record-keeping. At first the records were little more than statements of relief given or of formal action taken. Later they became diffuse chronological accounts of everything that happened. In recent years, however, there has developed a technique of record-making which is taught to the beginner, and which attempts to include in the record all the important facts in investigation, diagnosis, and treatment. This obviates duplicate investigations and gives other workers with the family a definite background. There has not yet been worked out a satisfactory method of analyzing case-records so that they may reveal the necessary statistical and social data which they contain; this is a task of the future. There is no question that the record files of social agencies contain invaluable sociological material; there is equally no question that in many instances it is so recorded as to be quite useless to the student. An increased coöperation is needed between the investigator of social conditions, the statistician, and the case-worker, if these possibilities are to be developed.

The Confidential Exchange.—A third and most useful mechanism which case-work has developed is the "Confidential Exchange,"—a central registration bureau for social agencies. It merely records the name, address, and other identifying information in respect to a family or individual, and the name and date of agencies which have

had dealings with them. At first the full records of the agencies were transmitted to the bureau, but this was unwieldy and probably unethical. The up-to-date Confidential Exchange simply gives to the social agency to whom a family is referred as being in need of service, the names of any other agencies which have previously known them. If the first agency wishes to save itself work, and often to save the family from the demoralization of duplicate assistance, it communicates with the other agencies, if possible gets in touch with the worker who has handled the problem, and in any event asks, if the record is not too confidential, for the privilege of reading it. In most cases with well-conducted agencies this request is freely granted, and everyone is the gainer. Often it is found that additional assistance is as unwise as it is unnecessary; at other times the separate agencies are enabled to coöperate in their treatment rather than to work at cross purposes. The Confidential Exchange naturally developed first in the larger cities, but it has spread so that now almost every community which has more than one agency has some sort of rudimentary exchange. The exchange was first developed by the charity organizations and made use of by other relief-giving agencies. Now all sorts of social workers use the exchange, although in the majority of cases it is still maintained by the relief agency. However, in recent years the tendency has been to have the Exchange taken over by the Central Council of Social Agencies or some coöperative group. Many agencies, particularly those connected with churches, still refuse to register their cases with the exchange, much to the detriment not only of their own work, but of that of others, and to the ultimate harm of the people whom they are attempting to help. The usefulness of registration has become so evident that the use of the confidential exchange also has become a test of efficient social work.

The Spread of Case-work Technique.—As previously noted, it was the charity organization group which first developed the principles of effective case-work, but it has spread far and wide. The children's agencies, particularly those which deal with child-placing and child-protection, early recognized the value of good case-work with their problems, and have adopted it very generally. Children's institutions have been less interested, but the better type use case methods in investigating applicants. The juvenile courts and probation officials also were early converts, along with medical social agencies. Some of these specialized groups now do far more intensive work than the purely charitable agencies. In recent years public bodies, particularly those dealing with widow's pensions, old age relief, and the mental defectives, have adopted the case-work method. By no means all such bodies use it effectively, and many which claim to do so are exceedingly superficial; their staff is untrained, over-

worked, and operates under such a load of red tape, that it is impossible to do good work. There are still many relief agencies, also, which cling to the older hit-or-miss methods.

The Future of Case-Work.—Miss Richmond's statement has been quoted that so long as human beings are human there will be need for concerted efforts to adjust some of them to their environment. Owing to the development of social research and the resulting social reforms the particular needs will change, but the necessity for individual adjustment will remain.

Furthermore, if social reform is to be sound and enduring it must rest on a secure foundation of case-work. Some of the most valuable reforms of the last half-century have developed from the experience of case-workers—for instance, housing and anti-tuberculosis efforts. Much sociology is a sort of philosophy built on logical foundations, but with no roots. If sociology is ever to amount to anything else it must sink its roots deep in case experience. Statistical data gathered for particular experiments have a considerable value; but far more important are the naturally accumulated data of the social agencies. As already noted, much valuable experience has not been recorded in available form, and even more is almost worthless because secured by untrained sentimentalists. The present tendency to demand good academic education for social workers, supplemented by specialized training in their own field, will be of great assistance.

Both makers of social theory and legislators must realize the value of the case-work results. Many a sociologist makes fun of the case-worker as a "patch-worker"; while the case-worker calls the sociologist a visionary. Both attitudes are wrong; and recent studies in the field of social control are showing the evil wrought in both directions by the lack of mutual knowledge.

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CHAPTER XVIII

GROUP ORGANIZATION AND THE COMMUNITY

Leaving out of consideration for the time being such purely fact-finding activities as "social research," and such propagandistic efforts as "social reform," all efforts at social adjustment might be classified either as case-work or group activities. Indeed it might be possible to include both research and reform within this two-fold classification. Research can be carried on in both fields and by both methods; social scientists are attempting to find out what lies back of both group and individual reactions,—although some claim that all social research must ultimately be on the case-work basis. Reform, on the other hand, is an attempt to move large bodies of people and in the main is conducted as a group activity; although here, too, the individual cannot be neglected. Assembled facts, arguments pro and con, demonstrations, and everything else in the armory of the reformer must ultimately be directed toward the individual in such a way as to secure action on his part, and this might be called case-work. Indeed the successful politician, from whom the reformer has borrowed much of his apparatus, is primarily a case-worker.

Difference between Case-work and Group Activity.—There is a legitimate distinction between group-work and case-work, however, not only in technique but also in objective. The prime end of the first is the adjustment of the individual to his surroundings; that of the second the adjustment of one group in the community to the other groups that go to make up the entire unit. We immediately encounter the knotty problem of whether the social group has any existence apart from its individual members—a problem which may be left for ultimate solution to the philosophers, but which for practical purposes can be answered in the affirmative. Any well established group has definite life functions and needs to be adjusted properly to the other groups. Aside from this more or less theoretical assumption, however, there is no need to argue the fact that it is only through the proper organization and adjustment of the groups of which they are members that most individuals become themselves adjusted to society. Most of us function socially in a very limited way indeed, if at all, aside from our membership in certain groups. Consequently anything that affects the life of the group affects the life of the individual, and group and community organization is therefore of fundamental social importance.

Community Organization

In recent years there has been a growing impatience on the part of many social reformers with the relatively slow and piece-meal processes of social case-work. Beside those reformers whose faith is pinned on legislation and social action, there are many others who have claimed that what is needed is a new community organization, and both have asserted that if all groups in the community functioned properly there would be little or no need for case-work. In the preceding chapter the stand has been taken that such a belief is fallacious; at the same time case-work itself has shown that it cannot be successful unless accompanied by an effort to adjust the various social groups in more effective fashion. Since community organization seems to show a "royal road" to a social utopia its popularity has been decidedly greater than that of case-work, and all sorts of people have rushed into the field of community organization with little or no scientific preparation.

Their organizations have been almost as varied as human activities and interests are. The more important have been concerned with recreation and leisure time, health, industrial life, the neighborhood, education, and religion. Around each one of these have sprung up in recent years nation-wide efforts to use them as a basis for inclusive community organization. No one has been fully successful, largely because the activity which each represents is one-sided in its appeal. Any attempt to organize the whole community around a single activity, no matter how popular, is doomed to failure. For general community organization a wider appeal is necessary, and so far no one has been able to evoke such an appeal. The nearest approach to it was during the late war; then, and then only, all special interests and activities were subordinated to one great purpose. Great as the resulting gains were along certain lines, the losses in individual freedom and initiative formed a heavy counterweight which would make one hesitate to repeat the experiment, even if it were possible.

While there is much to be said, therefore, for a more effective community organization, and while infinitely more may be done to organize and adjust the various communal activities and groups interested in them, it is a grave question whether a 100 per cent effective community organization would not be disastrous. What is needed is more effective special group organizations with an understanding of their necessary inter-relations.

Change of Emphasis in Community Movement.—Although the group organization started along certain rather definitely specified lines, its enthusiastic promoters have made for it all sorts of claims which for a time cast some discredit on the whole endeavor. Imme-

diately after the war a tremendous effort was made to carry over the war organization into the peace time life of the nation through various sorts of group activities. The Interchurch World Movement was the most spectacular of these, and its complete collapse was perhaps the definite turning-point in such endeavors. But the American Red Cross, Community Service, Inc., and many other nation-wide organizations must be reckoned among the total or partial casualties of the period. Around 1920 all sorts of articles were coming from the press heralding a new social order based on a vague sort of community organization, a typical example of which was a little book by Dr. J. K. Hart entitled *Community Organization*.[1] Ambitious efforts toward community betterment were here foreshadowed, to be accomplished through group effort which should do away with

> the vast devastated areas of our common human nature, where all the old loyalties and neighborliness have been destroyed and their places taken by suspicion and hate.[2]

The whole book reflects the vague aspirations of the period, as well as the philosophy which was back of the abortive efforts at community organization. To show the change which even five years has brought, one has only to turn to a book by J. K. Steiner with the same title written in 1925.[3] Here in place of hazy statements about "The Democratic Ideal," "The Inclusive Program," and "Keeping the Program Human" of the earlier book, the writer devotes half of his four hundred pages to a careful study of the community programs of such organizations as the Red Cross, the Community Church, and the Country Life Movement, and the balance of the book to an analysis of the social make-up of typical communities and the reasons for the success or failure of the activities enumerated. Of especial importance in pointing out the difference between the roseate hopes of 1920 and the more definite program of the later years is the emphasis in the concluding chapters on the necessity for careful community and group diagnosis and the value of the case-work method in studying communities. In this chapter on group organization the 1925 rather than the 1920 model will be used.

Community Organizations Based on Welfare Agencies

The Charity Organization Society.—In the preceding chapter the emergence of the Charity Organization Society has been noted, and its development as primarily a case-working agency. From the very

[1] Published by Macmillan, New York, 1920, the first of a series to be called *The Social Welfare Library*.

[2] Ibid., pp. 204–205.

[3] Steiner, J. K., *Community Organization*, New York, 1925.

beginning, however—perhaps especially at the beginning—the charity organization movement had a two-fold purpose. In fact, while its activities were increasingly of a relief and service nature, as its name implies its founders intended that it should fulfill also a community function,—the organization of the various groups, religious, governmental, and philanthropic, which in the old phrase were "relieving the poor." One of the primary C. O. S. functions in case-work was, and to a great extent still is, maintenance of the Confidential Exchange. Although this does not carry on community work, it becomes a natural focus for community activities of a relief nature. The early charity organizations, both in this country and in England, generally placed the organization of the charitable forces of the community at the head of their program, and for many years charity organizations everywhere undertook such work. Some of the early societies gave no relief from their own funds, and thus were in an advantageous position to help organize the community from a relief point of view. More and more, however, as the technique of case-work developed, the charity organization, and its successor the family welfare society, came to assume definite administrative responsibility. In this way they soon became competitors in the field with the other relief-giving and service agencies. Some of the societies, too, aroused the hostility of other welfare agencies by the—often justified—assumption that their methods were superior to those of the others.

Unquestionably for many years, and even yet in some communities, the charity organization society has been the dominant community organizing force. But it has become increasingly evident that, in the field of welfare, indeed even in that of case work, it is practically impossible for one agency which itself carries on work to set itself up as the organizer of others. Most charity organizations have long since abandoned this undertaking, although almost everywhere it is the members of the charity organization group who through their knowledge of the field have pointed the way to various group organizations. Housing, new social legislation, recreation, and a host of other predominantly group activities, owe their beginnings to the committees and the trained workers of the C. O. S. The charity organization society of today, then, does not to any great degree function as a community organizer. Its committees, its staff, and its executive, however, are prominent in promoting new activities, and where there is no other social agency in the community they usually fill the wider rôle for which they were originally intended. And whether there are other social agencies or not, the charity organization society or its equivalent in the family welfare field is probably in closer touch with general community needs than any other single welfare organization.

The Central Council of Social Agencies.—From the standpoint of

social work, the primary function of a community organization is "coordinating the activities of the many social working agencies." The growth of many types of agencies, dealing with specific problems and yet dealing with the same people and working in the same community, constitutes one problem more. This, in the field of relief, the early charity organizations attempted to deal with. As noted, their efforts were unsuccessful, but the problem continued, and indeed with the development of social work has become increasingly complex.

To meet this need there has recently arisen a new type of organization—the Central Council—defined by McLean as a

> "delegate body representing the social agencies of a city, these agencies still maintaining independence of action in all fields and being bound together by coöperative rather than contractual relationships." [4]

In general, such councils are composed of official delegates appointed by each welfare organization in the community, often with ex-officio delegates representing civic departments, and other delegates-at-large representing the community as a whole. This body attempts to secure more effective coöperation among the social agencies, particularly those in the case-working field; to allocate the spheres of effort so that as far as possible there may be no duplication; to suggest and organize new types of agencies as they are needed; and as far as possible to prevent the launching of new organizations which the community does not need. For these purposes such a representative council is eminently fitted. Many councils, in order to perform the functions outlined above, are forced into a study of the existing agencies. For instance, if a new agency is projected it is necessary to ascertain if those already doing similar work are doing it efficiently or are fully covering the field. This involves surveys and social research. Furthermore, if the recommendations of the council are to carry weight the community must be prepared by education to understand them. Here we have the whole program of community publicity for social work. Still other councils have found that much money and time could be saved through central auditing of books, central stenographic service, and joint buying of supplies. In these latter developments the council comes very close to being an administrative agency, and there is still considerable controversy how far such developments should be encouraged.

The Central Council has grown fast in America and on the whole has served a most useful purpose. It has not claimed to organize the whole community, but it has acted as a coördinator in its particular field. It has been especially successful in the larger cities where both the amount of work to be done and the financial backing are large.

[4] McLean, *Central Councils and Community Planning*, Survey 38 p. 216.

Here the council can employ its own executive and staff. In the smaller cities the development has not always been as satisfactory, especially where the budget does not justify a paid executive. Part-time leadership, especially if the leader is affiliated with one of the other agencies, is likely to be unsatisfactory. Although Central Councils have had a wide vogue since the war in smaller cities, their success in this field is somewhat doubtful, unless they become financial federations as well. The added responsibility for finances makes it possible to justify the employment of a trained executive. This arrangement also has its drawbacks, as there is danger that the original purpose of the council may be submerged by the financial activities. In the smaller cities a well-organized Family Welfare Society, a socialized Public Welfare Department, or some other agency may satisfactorily furnish leadership, within or without a council.

The Financial Federation

The Financial Federation might be characterized as simply a central council that includes joint finance among its functions. But, as Steiner points out:

"the assumption of financial responsibility for its member agencies has brought about such important modifications in its policy and methods of operation that it has come to be looked upon as essentially a separate organization." [5]

Many federations, indeed, have definitely refused to accept any responsibility for policies of community organization and confine themselves to the raising of funds. Others, while ostensibly performing the functions of the council, really pay little or no attention to the type of work done, except in so far as the appropriation from the common "chest" limits or expands the scope of each agency's work.

Development of Financial Federation in United States.—Joint money-raising has always appealed to privately-supported social work groups. The Jews were the real pioneers in this field in America; for many years all Jewish welfare agencies in most cities have conducted a joint campaign for funds with remarkable success. In 1913 Cleveland organized a General Federation for Charity and Philanthropy with fifty-seven agencies coöperating, and raised $377,000. Cleveland has since created a welfare council which assumes responsibility for the coördination of work, and has merged the council and the federation in one comprehensive and efficient organization, which really is a Central Council with joint finance. Cincinnati followed the example of Cleveland and by 1918 there were twenty-six cities operating

[5] Steiner, op. cit., p. 177.

financial federations or community chests; and by 1924 the number had risen to about 200.[6]

The Federation as a Money Raiser.—As money-raising agencies the financial federations have been on the whole very sucessful, although their sponsors, largely publicity men and community boosters, have seen to it that the not infrequent failures are generally passed over in silence. The possible sufferers are the agencies and their clients. The social agencies usually do not dare to complain because they fear reductions in their allocations, and the clients are mute. There is no question, however, that taking the country as a whole, the Financial Federation and Community Chest Movement does raise more money for social work purposes and raises it also from a larger number of givers than the old individual method.

Federation Policies.—It cannot be said that the financial federation has been so successful in the field of community organization. Some notable successes have been made, but on the whole, despite frequent gestures the efforts of the financial federation have been almost entirely directed to money-raising and money-spending. It has seemed to many that the Central Council should have developed first and the Financial Federation come as a logical outgrowth; thus coördination and community responsibility would already have been established. But in most cases the central council plan is simply an addendum to a community chest program.

Most federations have adopted certain definite financial policies, which in a given city may or may not help community organization. The "immunity rule" is a case in point.

> "According to this rule, those who contribute to the budget of a federation are guaranteed freedom from further solicitation by its member agencies during the current year." [7]

This is a splendid idea from the point of view of the giver who wishes to be relieved of all responsibility; but the question arises as to whether it is desirable from other points of view. Suppose emergencies arise, as they frequently do in social work.

A more serious drawback is that the publicity is too frequently of the "sob-sister" variety. "Suppose Nobody Cared" or "Have a Heart" are favorite slogans. While there are frequently earnest attempts at educational publicity, it is the heart-throb stuff that gets the money, and money is the federation's primary reason for existence.

Another criticism commonly made of the financial federations' campaigns is that they are over-organized and that undue pressure is made on individuals to give. This is especially the case in factory can-

[6] Ibid., p. 178.
[7] Ibid., p. 182.

vasses. With the better-off, too, definite figures are set which leave little latitude for other interests and obligations. This pressure on wage-earners and the practical "bull-dozing" of other members of the community may get the money, but the method does not stimulate sympathy for the movement.

Another objection to the federation is its control of the individual budgets of member organizations. Since it has the sinews of war in its possession, it is able to outline pretty definitely the type of work to be done. This has much to commend it when the executives and committees of the federation have a thorough knowledge of the community, but it is lamentable when, as is frequently the case, they are simply publicity men and money-raising experts.

These criticisms all apply not to financial federation in theory but to financial federation in practice. Unquestionably a financial federation coöperating with a well-organized central council, both directed by trained social workers with community vision, is a most desirable step forward in social adjustment. But with rare exceptions our financial federations have not been of this type. They came too soon and they emphasize the wrong aspect of their work. Nevertheless it seems that they are here to stay. Those interested, not primarily in the financial side, but in helping the underprivileged in the community, should use every effort to see that the policies of the federation are socialized rather than commercialized, and that the direction of it is placed in the hands of public-spirited citizens and trained social workers rather than in those of "go-getters" and publicity experts.

The types of organization described above are chiefly directed toward assisting the definitely under-privileged. Other interests, such as recreation, education, and religion, which affect all groups in the community, fall largely or wholly outside their scope, and must be otherwise provided.

Recreation and Group Organization

The Play Group.—The origin of play goes far back into our animal ancestry; indeed play is a characteristic of animals and the young—who are the more animal-like of our species. Play is essentially a social phenomenon; it is possible for an individual to "play" alone, but there are far greater possibilities with others. Until recently the advance of civilization has meant a decreasing emphasis on the play motive in life. The demands of industry have become greater and greater, leaving both less physical space and less time for play. Adult play in certain periods, particularly during the dominance of the Puritans in Europe and America and the intense business activity of the

Industrial Revolution, was practically forbidden. It was impossible, however, to stifle the desire for "useless" activity—hence the "blue laws" and many other social restrictions. In the homes of the Scotch Presbyterians and the New England Puritans, even children were forbidden to spend their time in wanton idleness. Such an attitude is pathological, and while the amount of time spent in play in so-called civilized society is probably less than in primitive groups, no small portion of all human activity through all time has been directed toward a satisfaction of the urge for "fun."

The satisfaction of this urge among both adults and children has created the "play-group"; consisting of a face to face association of individuals brought together for no other purpose than enjoyment. In recent years many students of community and group organization have felt that the play-group was the easiest and most natural way of approaching a much-needed community organization. It was not so exclusive as the family, was not tied up with definite economic motives as industry, had no sectarian barriers or supernatural sanctions like the church, nor was it legally compelling as the state or the lesser civil organizations. The psychological attitude of freedom and happiness combined with the intimate face to face contact provided in advance a means of approach to organization that was lacking in most other groups.

The Kindergarten.—The dominance of Puritanism in thought and the pressure of industrialism in economic life have made it practically impossible for organization of play groups to begin with adults. It was to a renewed interest in childhood, aroused first by Rousseau but brought to practical development by Pestalozzi and Froebel in the middle of the last century, that the modern play movement owes its beginnings.

The kindergarten is essentially an organized play group, and when educators were finally convinced that play was an important factor in their program the growth of a definite play and recreation movement was fast. Even before that some broad-minded philanthropists had realized the need in our growing city life of open spaces, and provision was beginning to be made for sand-boxes and some oversight for the very young children.

Origin of the Playground Movement.—The fact that play was good for the very young having been acknowledged, it was not long before the logic of the situation made it evident that childhood did not stop with the kindergarten, and efforts were made to provide play spaces and play direction for older children. Local Playground and Recreation Associations were formed, culminating in a very effective national organization which did much to spread the gospel of play, not only for children but for adults as well. City governments soon came to

see the necessity for playgrounds, and later for organized recreation. It was assumed at first that if space with equipment was provided children would play naturally; but it was soon seen that this was not enough; groups demand leadership, and equipment needs supervision. From these factors a new profession has developed,—that of recreational director.

Recreation and the Neighborhood.—This was a distinct step in advance, but it was owing to the influence of the settlements and community centers,—to be discussed more in detail later,—that recreation became a definite organized force in the community. Robert A. Woods of Boston was perhaps the pioneer in America in stating the value, indeed the necessity, of organizing recreation on the neighborhood basis. Equipment and supervision were not enough. These students of society in the amorphous and impersonal city neighborhoods were convinced, not only that recreation itself needed local self-government, but that the urge for play afforded a powerful lever for re-integration and re-organization of the neighborhood. Chicago, through an extensive plan of neighborhood centers supported by city funds, was the first great city to undertake such an experiment on a large scale. The Chicago experiment was not as successful as it might have been had its proponents recognized more carefully the existence of genuine neighborhoods; nevertheless it was a distinct forward step. Other cities have followed the Chicago plan, some of them much more successfully, and many private or semi-private agencies such as settlement federations, local playground and community center associations, and above all the War Camp Community Service, have developed neighborhood groups and through these a complete community organization on the basis of recreation.

Community Service, Inc., and the Playground and Recreation Association.—All sorts of organizations such as the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Boy Scouts, and many others, were induced by the pressure of the war to participate in this community recreation program. When the war was over Community Service, Inc. attempted to capitalize the war experiences and completely organize the cities of the United States with recreation as a basis. Much was accomplished, but after three years of experiment the plan was dropped, and the Playground and Recreation Association of America, the parent organization, again became the great national force in the development of a recreation program. This body lays less stress on the community aspects of the work and more on the development of recreational opportunities,—a service that is still far from complete.

The Public and Recreation.—It has become increasingly evident that a community recreation program must function mainly through

governmental agencies, supplemented for special areas and groups by such agencies as settlements and community centers, the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., the churches, etc. It is to the school systems and the park and playground commissioners that we must look for the most important advances in the field of recreation, and these advances are coming fast.

The Trained Recreation Worker.—The training of specialized recreation workers is a distinct gain. These people, many of them college and university graduates, are employed in many capacities and by many agencies. Not only the public schools, settlements, and community centers, but churches, industrial plants, and other organizations catering to considerable groups of people, find their work essential. Increasingly combined with Simon-pure recreation is health education, in which tremendous steps forward are being made.

The great defect of many of these workers, however, is their ignorance of social science. Most of them are technicians; they know little or nothing of other social agencies, and less about the underlying sociological phenomena. As a result their work suffers, not only in being inadequate in respect to the people with whom they come in contact—a very great lack—but equally with respect to community and group organization. Recreation and health education at the very most are the limits of their vision. Economic, social, educational, and psychological problems are outside their ken, and they fail to see that effective group organization cannot exist on the basis of recreation alone. These restrictions should be understood as applying to the average worker only; there are exceptional workers who demonstrate what the possibilities are.

Defects of Recreation as the Sole Basis of Community Organization.—While the recreation movement has done much, not only to create strong healthy bodies and minds, but also to make life more livable in American cities—and in connection with the settlements and the community centers it has made a real contribution toward community organization—it has been unsuccessful when it has attempted completely to organize neighborhoods and entire communities with its own program alone. If man does not live by bread alone, still less does he live by play alone, and play is not a sufficient basis for the organization of community life. Community Service, Inc., failed because of its one-sided emphasis and also because it claimed too much. Although recreation must always be to some extent a mass movement and appeals must be made to mass psychology, especially if civic contributions and private subscriptions are to be secured, the man in the street has sense enough to know that a playground and a "Community Service Organizer" cannot revolutionize a community overnight. The "success" literature and the booster publicity of the recreation

leaders perhaps have a place, but there is a great need of scientific study, not only of the technique of recreation, but also of the contribution which recreation can make toward community organization. It is unfortunately true that

"the contribution of the playground movement to the field of community organization has hardly been in keeping with its many significant experiments in widely different communities." [8]

Settlements and Community Centers

Like the charity organization movement, the social settlement became popular during the last part of the nineteenth century, originated in England, and was a reaction on the part of the religious and philanthropic leaders of English society to the terrible suffering among the poor which followed the Industrial Revolution. Here the similarity ends. The motivation of the settlement was primarily religious. Ruskin, Kingsley, and Carlyle had succeeded in portraying the horrible situation in the slums of the great English cities so vividly that the students at Oxford and Cambridge, particularly those preparing to take holy orders, became eager to bridge the gap which separated the prosperous from the needy. It was evident that alms alone were insufficient, and about the middle of the century groups of students began to take lodgings among the poor, with the idea not only of finding out through first-hand experience how they lived, but also through friendship and example of influencing their neighborhoods so that the general standards of living should be raised. Toynbee Hall in 1884 under the inspiring leadership of Canon Barnet became the first recognized social settlement, and the methods worked out by him in Whitechapel, then as now one of the poorest sections of London, were widely copied throughout the United Kingdom. Americans with similar interests visited Canon Barnet and within a few years the three pioneer American settlements were established—Neighborhood Guild in New York, Hull House in Chicago, and the South End House in Boston. This movement attracted many of the finest spirits of the time, among whom Jane Addams and Robert Woods stand pre-eminent, and spread rapidly over the country through the 'nineties and has continued to grow ever since.

Object of the Settlements.—While the religious motive was strong, few if any of the successful settlements were sectarian in organization, and from the beginning they appealed broadly to all people living in their neighborhoods. The first settlements had little in the way of a definite program, and they have always been noteworthy among social-work movements for the elasticity of such programs as they have

[8] Ibid., p. 133.

adopted. The keynote of the movement has been interpretation. It has been felt that the unfortunate ought to know the motives and manners of those who were better-off, while it is equally important that the more fortunate should understand the life of the submerged tenth. Careful studies of all the social forces of the neighborhood have been carried on by practically all of the better settlements; and programs adopted have been based on actual needs.

The Wide Influence of the Settlement Program.—Through the settlements, many fine men and women have given freely of their time and talents to the service of the neighborhood. The lack of recreational facilities, particularly for the young, was one of the things that faced all early settlements, and the promotion of wholesome recreation has usually been a paramount concern. Adult education and health programs of various sorts have been widely followed, and the settlement was a pioneer in America in these fields as well. In contrast with many other social agencies the settlement movement has rarely, if ever, felt that it was a permanent or complete solution of neighborhood problems. Indeed, one of its great contributions has been pioneering in various fields, showing the worth-whileness of various efforts, and then attempting through agitation and education the extension of the movement through the city as a whole. Many activities, such as the kindergarten, the Boy Scouts, Americanization classes, musical and artistic education for the children of the poor, were begun in the settlements and have since been taken over, either by the city or the state through educational or other departments, or by community-wide private agencies.

Settlements as Community Organizers.—Some settlements have become so engrossed in "clubs and classes" that their original function as community and neighborhood centers have been lost, but this has not been the case with the majority. The settlement has generally attempted to become a focal point for the neighborhood and to a fair extent has succeeded. It has had the advantage that its program has been elastic and varied, and hence all sorts of people have availed themselves of its neighborly service. As the number of settlements in a city has increased a settlement federation has usually been formed.

The Community Center.—The Community Center owes its existence largely to the settlement. The settlement has inevitably suffered because of its generally hidden, but none the less implicit, attitude of patronage. Many neighborhoods, objecting to the existence of an avowedly philanthropic agency as a center for their activities, at the same time recognized the need of much the kind of center which the settlement provided. With the generous assistance of settlement workers, the public school plant was seized on as a nucleus around which the community could be organized. Many activities promoted

by the settlements were lifted bodily to the school building and for some years there has been a vigorous movement to build up neighborhood activities around the school. These have succeeded remarkably well in some cities, and particularly in the country. As long as the workers, trained usually in settlements, were able to give their experience and devotion without political interference, the outlook was promising. Unfortunately many organizers of the community centers felt that the staff as well as the equipment should be under municipal control, and the standards under which workers were selected were consequently considerably lowered. Then, too, the fact that most of these centers were promoted by boards of education created a tendency toward regimentation and school discipline, away from the elasticity of the settlement. Political control, the provision of extra jobs and extra pay for school teachers, etc., the limitations of the school plant and the obduracy of school janitors, all created problems which have by no means been solved. The fact, too, that school districts do not parallel natural neighborhood boundaries, sometimes interferes with success. Nevertheless, the community center with the school plant as a nucleus is a promising development.

Health Programs and the Unit Plan

Health as a Basis.—The development of health centers of various types has been outlined in a previous chapter. Since health is one of the fundamentals of existence, some of the more enthusiastic public health workers have felt that around the health center an inclusive community organization could be built up. The idea has much to recommend it. Everyone is interested in health, and there is less of economic or class distinction in the matter of health than in many other activities. Infant welfare stations have been especially popular as centers from which community activities might radiate.

The Cincinnati Social Unit.—It is difficult to know where to treat most logically the Cincinnati experiment in community organization, as in theory, at any rate, it was planned to embrace all sorts of neighborhood activities. Since its chief proponents, Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Phillips, were primarily interested in infant health work and since its first activity was along that line, it may be discussed under this head. Mr. and Mrs. Phillips had previously had a very successful experience with an Infant Milk Depot in New York City and also in Milwaukee. Their purpose in the beginning was to raise the standard of service rendered to children by doctors, nurses, and social workers, and in doing this they came to see that a rather extensive organization was necessary. The babies in need of attention must be found, mothers must be educated to give their babies proper care, and particularly,

preventive as well as curative work must be undertaken. In order to accomplish this result, not only must the physicians and the social workers in the neighborhood work together, but the neighborhood itself must be behind the work. Thus was brought into being their great contribution, the idea of a democratic welfare organization centered around a health program. At a meeting of those interested in child health in Washington in 1915, $90,000 was subscribed for an initial experiment, and Cincinnati was finally selected as the city in which to try it out. A carefully worked-out plan of organization of a single district was effected on a block basis. Block councils were appointed for each of the thirty-one blocks in the district, occupations were organized, and special councils of doctors, ministers, social workers, labor union representatives, etc., were formed.

The first work undertaken was a complete infant welfare service for the entire district, and there has never been any question of the entire success of this experiment in democratizing health service. From the infant welfare stations there developed a wide health program, wholly under the control of the members of the unit, and with especial emphasis on prevention. This effort was largely self-supporting, the funds subscribed being mainly spent in the difficult work of organization.

Unfortunately the end of the initial stage of the experiment coincided with the period at the close of the war when America was drenched with anti-Bolshevik propaganda. The organization of the social unit undoubtedly partook somewhat of the social philosophy of the soviets. Then, too, some of the leading members and officers of the social unit were known to hold liberal, not to say radical, views in regard to political and economic policies. The political leaders of Cincinnati, who at the beginning were most favorable, began to perceive that such intensive and intelligently directed organization was likely to weaken their own position and to bring criticism on the way in which the city government was carried on. Indeed such criticisms were beginning to be made. As a result the Mayor of Cincinnati and other politicians, taking advantage of the anti-Red agitation accused the Social Unit of "being a government within a government" and made many other and harsher statements which led to the downfall of the experiment. It has never been revived.

This failure, of what most thoughtful observers claim to have been an epoch-making experiment in democracy as applied to community problems, is exceedingly regrettable. It was unfortunate that the leaders of the unit should have become involved in political controversy, but perhaps that is inevitable in any such experiment in pure democracy. It was unfortunate also that the movement should have been "imported"; if it had been indigenous to the city it might have

weathered the storm. It is to be hoped that a similar plan will be tried elsewhere. It is not at all necessary that health should be the primary object of the organization; its methods can be applied to any community problem.

The American Red Cross and Community Organization

Organization of the Red Cross.—Before the World War no one would have looked to the Red Cross as a factor in community organization except perhaps as it functioned in reorganizing communities after a disaster. Its primary purpose was to have ready a skeleton organization which would function in time of war, or other emergency. Even before the war some additional tasks, however, had been attempted. Public health nursing and health instruction was fostered by many Red Cross chapters. The development of the chapter system itself was a definite step in the direction of community organization. At its beginning in America the Red Cross was solely a national organization, but some of its leaders were convinced that it needed local organization, and the chapters were the result. During the war chapters were organized in practically every county in the United States, and under the stimulus of war needs more and greater responsibilities were entrusted to them. With the war over, many chapters wished to continue their organization, and the field of community organization lay near at hand.

Home Service.—The most important factor in the development of the Red Cross as a social work agency was through Home Service. This was the term applied to the various types of assistance given to soldiers' families; a unique experiment in social case-work on a large scale and during a national emergency. The familiarity with the social needs of individuals and communities and the realization of what could be done through effective organization and trained workers was a great encouragement to further work when the war was over. Some of the best equipped social workers in the country had been drawn into the Red Cross ranks during the war and their experience and example were tremendous incentives. The original Home Service work was primarily of the case-work type with individual families, but it brought to the attention of a larger group of people than ever before the extent and variety of community needs.

Red Cross Efforts at Community Organization.—The Red Cross appealed, at least during the war, to all classes of people, and local and individual rivalries were temporarily forgotten. It was felt very strongly by many that at the close of the war the Red Cross chapter organizations should be utilized in creating a country fit for the return of its soldiers. This meant in essence the definite occupation of the

field of community organization and, in many cases, the entire supervision of the program of social work.

The national organization of the Red Cross, which wields very powerful control over the program of its branches, has varied from time to time in its ideas as to the responsibility of the Red Cross for such work. Immediately after the war it seemed as though the Red Cross would become the Moses of the community organization movement, and that it could perpetuate its war-time experience and enthusiasms. In many sections of the country it entered heartily into the field, and scattered all over the United States there are counties where all sorts of community and social-work activities were projected. Unfortunately financial support as well as enthusiasm fell off rapidly during the post-war deflation. Those in control of Red Cross national policies construed this as a lack of endorsement of its peace-time program.

There are still many chapters carrying on local activities of many sorts, home service, general case-work, recreation, health work, and community organization. Where the work has failed locally, much of the blame is often due to an unwillingness on the part of the Red Cross to coöperate with other agencies; another primary reason for failure is insufficient funds to employ trained workers. The great cause of failure, however, is lack of interest on the part of the national organization. Chapters were not able to adjust their programs to their individual needs, and the fact that one-half the sums contributed must go to the central organization has been a great handicap.

Recently the interest of the national organization has contracted to include little besides public-health nursing, the care of ex-service men, and disaster relief, with minor activities such as life-saving. This has resulted in a gradual retreat of the Red Cross from both the case-work and the community organization field—a retreat which has been a great calamity to the less socially developed parts of the country.

With all these handicaps and with the lack of success in most places where it has attempted community organization, it must be conceded that the American Red Cross has probably done more for community organization than any other one agency. There is still hope that when the present era of contraction—largely a reaction following the fever engendered by the war—is over, the American Red Cross may again call to its service men and women of vision, and re-enter with all the prestige of its war accomplishment and its national and international authority this field of service.

Disaster Relief.—In one field of community organization the Red Cross is preëminent,—that of disaster relief. It may seem that during and immediately after a disaster is not the time to think of community problems, but the reverse is true. Communities are roused from their lethargy by a disaster, and with the overthrow of the es-

tablished institutions the way is cleared in a spiritual as well as a physical sense for extensive reconstructions, which, if rightly directed, may lead to far more effective community organization. Social rebuilding just as physical rebuilding demands a survey of the community and its needs. The Red Cross, because of its recognized function as the disbursing agent of national and international relief, and because of the fact that it has developed a social vision, is particularly fitted to grapple with the problem of community organization following a disaster, and on the whole has done a remarkably good job. Not only is the necessary case-work of looking after the victims speedily and efficiently carried out, but the Red Cross always attempts to re-organize the community, working in coöperation with the local interests. Halifax, Nova Scotia, is an excellent example. Following the disaster there in 1917, not only was a large part of the city rebuilt, but the entire social organization of the city was made over. Community spirit and community organization were capitalized by the relief workers, and the result is a far better integrated city. To the short-sighted observer the plan-making activities of the Red Cross staff, in the midst of death, suffering, and destruction, may seem useless and unnecessary, but the Red Cross has learned through experience that community reorganization can be effected at such times, and it has accepted such reorganization as part of its responsibility, with results that justify the effort.

The Church and the Community

In any discussion of the community organization it is impossible to leave out the religious institution, the church. Although the church is organized around a specific activity, and unfortunately is split by the barriers of denominationalism, there is no question that it still is a very powerful force in organizing the community. In the Middle Ages, as already noted, the church was not only the source of alms, but really the center around which community life revolved. Recreation, masques, miracle plays, pageants, saints' days, were all conducted by the church. Education was a religious function from top to bottom. In some more primitive peasant communities in Europe that is the case even today, and on our own continent the curé and the church in the habitant village of French Canada form a real center of community life.

The City Community Church.—Many churchmen in America have wished that again the church with its powerful religious motive might become the center of community life. In the cities this has been increasingly difficult, both because of the shifting character of the population and their diversity of denominational affiliations. The Roman

Catholic churches have held aloof from attempts at community organization until recently, perhaps from a feeling that in many respects they were more truly community centers than those of other faiths. Of late, however, the activities of the Catholic Welfare Council and such organizations as the Knights of Columbus seem to show a tendency toward a renewed assumption of community activities.

Protestant city churches have made various attempts to meet community needs. The institutional church is probably the oldest and in many ways the most successful of these. Employment offices, recreational directors, boy scout troops, social parlors, relief activities, and many other types of work, have added to the regular religious function of the church. Churches have become known as the — Community Church and all sorts of special activities have been undertaken.

It would appear, however, that the growth of welfare agencies outside the church, and the manifest limits of sectarianism, have somewhat discouraged explicitly institutional churches, as they are less in evidence than they were a decade ago. But the usefulness of the church plant as a community center has been abundantly demonstrated, and most city churches are now planned as social centers, with provision for dinners, theatricals, dances, and socials. Much can be done by such churches, but their field is definitely limited by sectarianism. Some churches go so far as to renounce all denominational ties whatsoever, as in the case of the Community Church in New York City. Here Protestant, Catholic, and Jew are welcome in the audience and are heard from the pulpit. Nevertheless, this is in reality just one more church. It brings together people of kindred minds and hearts from otherwise differing groups and denominations, but by no means represents the entire community.

In the city there is not the need for federated churches that exists in the country; hence the federated type of church is rare, except in suburban districts. In suburbs which are substantially homogeneous, the church really does become a community affair. The differences between the various Protestant denominations are relatively slight, and it is not too difficult a task in a new community to establish a church which caters to many of the community's needs. Since suburban districts are at the best abnormal and are in many ways not complete communities, it cannot be said that success in them is definitely a portent of success in general. At the same time the fact that the church, under the right sort of leadership, can become a community organizer in these towns, is a hopeful sign.

Country Community Churches.—The Community Church movement has had its stronghold in the country and in the small town. Although it labors under some disadvantages—the narrow vision and the rather intense denominationalism of many country regions—it also has

very effective aids. In the first place, with the depletion of country population the burden of supporting many churches becomes manifest. Also the country people are in the main homogeneous in race and largely Protestant in religion. Moreover, in the country and in the small town there is comparatively little to compete with the church as a community organization. All these factors make the development of the church as an effective community center far more possible than in the city.

Some country churches have followed the plan adopted by the Community Church and exist independently of any denomination. Others become federated churches, where members of any sect may join, carrying on their denominational obligations separately and acting together in the community. Still other churches function through community organizations which they stand back of and of which the pastor is often the director, but to which others than church attendants are eligible.

While sectarian jealousy both in and out of the community, a lack of adequately trained leadership, and a lack of conception of the function of the church as a community leader has caused many such movements to fail, in whole or in part, others have achieved distinguished success. Even although the strife between Fundamentalism and Modernism is splitting many communities wide open now, there is ground to believe that denominational rivalry is decidedly on the wane in America. The theological seminaries are beginning to appreciate the necessity of adequate training for community leadership and within a few years will be turning out more pastors well equipped in this field. Courses in community organization and social-work technique are now being given in many leading seminaries. This is a most hopeful sign of the broadening concept of the function of the church.

Rural Organization

The differences between community organizations in city and in country are not functional, as between the other types already discussed, and as already indicated all sorts of activities form the basis of rural community organization. However, the problem is so utterly different from that in the city, the progress made has on the whole been so vastly greater, with possibilities even greater still, that it seems to merit separate treatment.

As noted in a preceding chapter, American rural communities, especially in the East, have been showing signs of social disintegration for some time. The industrial city has grown at the expense of the country, and especially since so large a proportion of the leaders have

gone away, country life has lost much of its vigor. What is true of the country is even more true of the small country town or county seat.

This situation has by no means passed unnoticed by students of social conditions, particularly those who are interested in agriculture. For some time past there has been a feeling that something ought to be done to organize rural sections so that life on the farms would be more interesting and attractive. The rural free delivery, the telephone, the cheap motor car, good roads, and the radio have all contributed greatly toward making life for the individual more tolerable, but community needs have not been so well met. Agricultural colleges in various parts of the country have realized the situation, and within the last fifteen years many of them have spent considerable time and effort in trying to find out what was wrong with the country. State education departments also have gradually become aware that the country school was not furnishing its pupils with the right training for life, and they, too, have become investigators. The draft in the World War showed that the health of the country boys was inferior to that of city dwellers, and this astonishing discovery augmented uneasiness. And finally the church has become concerned about the spiritual life of the countryside. In addition, through the efforts of the relatively few case-working agencies whose activities are carried on outside of the large centers, rumors of "misery spots" in America have gradually penetrated the public consciousness. Especially the home service work of the Red Cross during the war brought to the attention of social workers the problems of the rural community.

But the primary problem of the countryside, at least in the minds of the people themselves has been economic. The farmer vote is still large and influential, and farmers have been able to make their economic grievances felt at Washington and in the state capitals. As a result, both the Federal Government and the state governments have organized competently manned departments to find out what could be done to better economic conditions. These departments did not go far toward completion of their task before they realized that the problem was quite as much social as economic. A lack of coöperation among farmers in a given community, a loss of population because the community was not provided with good schools, churches, and recreational agencies, was found to be quite as important as low prices for farm produce. As a result of these studies, various efforts have been made toward rural community organization. They have developed around the several activities of country life, the church, the school, but above all around the economic unit, centering in what is known as the Farm Bureau.

The Farm Bureau.—The Farm Bureau grew out of a movement initiated in the Southwest some twenty years ago by the national government for the eradication of the boll-weevil. It was early decided by the authorities in Washington that little could be done unless the farmers themselves were interested, and to achieve this local farmers' organizations were instituted. In 1914 the Smith-Lever Act placed the Farm Bureau on a firmer foundation through the appropriation of a very considerable national fund to state agricultural colleges for the purpose of organizing farmers throughout the nation. These funds are matched by state and local appropriations, so that today in almost every agricultural county in the United States there is a more or less active Farm Bureau. The initiative must be taken locally, but if a bureau is once organized considerable assistance is forthcoming from state and nation.

The original purpose of the Farm Bureau is economic, and it always devotes a major portion of its activities to promoting more efficient crop-raising and marketing. This provides it with a definite appeal. On the state and national staffs there are experts in farming, horticulture, poultry raising, etc., and these experts are sent into the local communities at their request.

It was soon found that this work alone was inadequate; particularly the interests of the women and children on the farms were neglected. This realization resulted in two very important movements—the organization of special work for women in home economics, and for children through the schools and Junior Home Clubs. The women's work, like the men's, at first concerned itself with purely economic matters; classes in millinery, dress-making, preserving, etc., were immediately in demand. These classes are formed at the request of the local community, which arranges for place of meeting, local organization, and generally provides part of the expense of the leader. During the war, particularly, the development of food conservation was a great stimulus in the growth of the women's movement. But the workers in the Home Economics department believed that something should be done to meet other needs. The loneliness of women in the country is evident to anyone who lives there for any length of time; and the meetings for food conservation, etc., were made centers for recreation and the development of various activities. The churches and the local fraternal orders were asked to coöperate and through their aid, great progress has been made toward creating a happy and wholesome country life.

Children's Clubs advanced along similar lines. Competitions in home gardens, pig-raising, bread-baking, etc., were made the background for inter-school and county rivalry and coöperation. The rural school was induced to take hold of the subject of better com-

munity life. The Farm Bureau workers have done a great deal also to provide warm lunches and playgrounds in connection with the schools, and to secure the interest of parents in what the teachers are attempting to do.

The local unit of the Farm Bureau movement varies. In many states the school district is the primary unit—a much more effective one than in the cities as it usually coincides with a real neighborhood. The school building itself furnishes the equipment, and all sorts of activities revolve about it. Health programs, including traveling dental and optical clinics, and health education, are particularly popular. The school is used for the men's and women's meetings as well. The whole community turns out for meetings, especially during the winter when specialists address the men, women, and children, separately. After the separate meetings devoted to separate problems, the whole assemblage is gathered together for dinner, singing, and games. In New England the town is the local unit. The Farm Bureau, however, is made up generally of an assemblage of towns or school districts, and has its center in the county seat. This provides sufficient funds for the employment of really competent workers who supervise and inspire the work throughout the county and who are themselves under the direction of state and national bureaus.

As yet the Farm Bureau has employed community workers who are not technical specialists in rare instances only, although some counties consider organization work so important that they are doing so. A few employ recreation workers with especial reference to the schools. These workers, in turn, train school teachers and church workers, mainly volunteers, who carry on the work in the local communities. The problem of case-work is as yet practically untouched by the Farm Bureau, although many students believe that there is no reason why the Farm Bureau is not the logical organization to direct such work as well. It has the definite advantage of being a well-established democratic community organization, and also of covering a wide enough territory to employ one or more full-time workers.

It seems to the writer that, although the Farm Bureau movement has already accomplished a very great deal in rural organization, it has vast possibilities still untouched. Because it is non-sectarian, and in part at least supported by public taxation, it can tie up the work of community churches, the schools, the few social agencies that work in the country, and the state-wide health organizations with its own membership.

Rural Community Buildings.—Some rural communities, especially small towns in the center of an agricultural district, have been active in the erection of community centers, apart from either the church or the school. There are some communities, where owing to the inade-

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quacy of the school buildings, and either the narrow-mindedness of the church authorities or the strength of sectarian jealousy, this is necessary, but with proper organization it would seem that on the whole some existing building, with certain alterations, would meet the need in most small towns. Among these the school stands foremost.

The National and State Agency in the Country.—With the recent interest in rural problems, a number of national and state-wide philanthropic agencies are undertaking rather extensive programs in rural communities. The problem with these agencies is proper coördination of activities, and especially the enlistment of local support. Far too many of them have apparently felt that there was a need and have rushed to meet it without any idea that the residents of the country themselves would have anything to say about it, and without any careful study of what other agencies were doing. The National Country Life Association, organized in 1919, is a clearing house for various organizations seeking to do rural work, but there is still a vast need for coöperation. The writer believes that the County Farm Bureau is the most advantageously placed to coördinate the various activities in any rural community. Of all the agencies operating in the rural field it is the most democratic and, on the whole, knows its particular field best.

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The preceding paragraphs have by no means exhausted the various efforts toward adjustment now under way in the community field. For more detailed information the student is referred to books dealing with the community problem, particularly to Professor Steiner's recent book, several times referred to.

It is earnestly hoped that at any rate the reader is already convinced of the real need for community organization, as well as for case-work activity, if satisfactory social adjustment is to be achieved.

At the same time it must be confessed that community organization, so far, has been an exceedingly indefinite form of activity. There have not yet been worked out any formulæ, or scarcely any tentative rules for the process. Indeed it is doubtful if there can be. However, the present tendency to make a survey and a diagnosis of the individual community before an already worked-out program is clamped down upon it deserves to become a fixed principle. Then, too, the study and isolation of various types of community organization, rather than large and wordy claims for organization as a whole, is a distinct step forward. The fact that the universities and the schools of social work are tentatively beginning to study community organization is also a sign of progress.

What is particularly needed is the increase in the community organization field of trained workers with a genuinely broad back-

ground, not only of social technique, but particularly of general culture. Although there is danger of much so-called community work evaporating in fine phrases and gilded promises, there is an almost equal danger of its amounting to little because of a too narrow outlook. The organization of a community needs more than technical skill or publicity; it calls for a thorough understanding of the history and traditions of the group to be organized, a clear apprehension of their problems, and finally a wide knowledge of the manifold adaptations and resources which may be brought to bear in their solution. This is a high standard; but only when it is approximated among community organizers can we hope for the best in the way of community organization.

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CHAPTER XIX

SCIENCE AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

Goethe said somewhere that doing is easy, but thinking is hard. H. G. Wells has paid his respects to the tribe of "Godsakers"—those people who break up a consultation as to the best method of meeting any situation with the exclamation "For God's sake, let's *do* something." Many attempts at social reform are the result of this "Let's do something" attitude, on the part of those who find thinking too hard. The writer hopes that in the preceding chapters he has at least made the complexities of social adjustment clear enough so that the reader is convinced that no one should undertake to solve them with no equipment except good intentions.

The Necessity of Science.—Science is the great slogan of the twentieth century; we have come to believe in science and the scientific method much as our ancestors believed in their tribal divinities. Unfortunately a great deal that passes for science, particularly in the realm of social relationships, is anything but scientific. Huxley defined science as trained and organized common sense; but many would-be social scientists and social workers are deficient in common sense in the first place, and in the capacity or the training to organize what they have in the second. It is not without reason that a recent writer has characterized the present as "The New Age of Faith" and asserted that our faith in pseudo-science is just as socially disastrous as that of our predecessors in myth and magic.

With all due allowances for over-emphasis and exaggeration, however, it is apparent to anyone who takes the time to study the question that without research, reform is impossible. What is needed if we are ever to make adjustments adequate to overcome the defects in our present social system is first of all more information. Far more is known today about the organization of the atom than of the individual, and more about the individual than about the social group. The reason why the natural scientists can with justice challenge the accomplishments of their associates in the social sciences, and even question the existence of social sciences, lies here. There has been too much dependence on generalizations and abstract philosophies, and too little on carefully checked up investigations and descriptions of social phenomena. True, the field is vast and the difficulties of investigation great, but the nature of the task gives no reason for shirk-

ing. The first and foremost necessity for successful social adjustment is a knowledge of the field.

The Necessity of Analysis.—The natural sciences have made gigantic strides in the last two centuries because they have been willing to sub-divide their field into minute segments. If progress is to be made in the social sciences the same procedure must be followed. It has appeared that there are certain fundamental factors underlying many different types of social maladjustment, just as the Newtonian laws underlie many physical phenomena. But the physicist tests the Newtonian or the Einstein hypothesis by detailed studies. So it must be in social science. Complicated phenomena must be analyzed, and difficult social equations simplified, before they can be understood. For this service the research worker is needed, particularly the social statistician and the recorder of social reactions. Those of us who are neither statisticians nor research workers may contribute our own observations and conclusions, but more and more we are coming to realize that our data must be checked up by the scientific method.

The Place of the Layman in Social Adjustment.—From the foregoing it may seem that the untrained "man in the street" has little or nothing to do in bringing about social progress. This is far from being the case.

There is one fundamental difference between social and natural phenomena. In studying the latter, only the attitude of the experimenter is important; in studying human beings, the attitude of the subject is vital. No social change can ever be made by the scientist alone, no matter how intelligent and forceful he may be. Social changes are made by groups of individuals, and unless the reasons for and the necessity of the change are understood, they will never be made. Public opinion is an all-important factor in social adjustment, and it is absolutely necessary that the public should be well informed, both of the evils of our present maladjusted situations and of the advantages of the proposed changes. It is because the writer believes so profoundly that when men and women are convinced of evil and are shown that there is a way out they will, in time at least, take that way, that this book has been written. And it is written primarily, as stated in the opening chapter, for the layman.

The Necessity for Patience.—Rome was not built in a day; and social reform, unlike the well-known remedy, does not work while we sleep. The social worker and the ardent reformer alike lose patience with the slower scientist or the un-aroused public. But observations in history and in human psychology both show the existence of cultural lag; we never utilize even all the knowledge that we have, and in respect to social phenomena our knowledge is as yet meager. After all, the field of the social sciences is only beginning

to be explored; for the first time in history *a priori* reasoning and ethical impulse are recognized to be inadequate guides in dealing with social problems.

A survey of social conditions a century ago and a comparison with the situation today show improvement. We still have child labor, but it is far less cruel than that of the English chimney-sweeps or the breaker-boys in the Pennsylvania mines. Our laws regarding divorce are still barbaric, but a married woman today has a right to her own property and some rights in her children. Ellis Island is by no means a heavenly spot, but compare it with the plague-ridden barracks which received our Irish immigrants in the 'forties! Ignorance of the past, not knowledge of the present, makes many pessimists. The gradual advance of humanitarian philosophy, the growing recognition of the social waste of human sin and suffering, together with an even more recent understanding of the scientific methods of prevention and cure, give grounds, not for complacency, but for hope.

Social Adjustment and Progress.—In this book the term Social Adjustment has been generally used as applying to specific phenomena—the necessary task of smoothing-off the rough edges and softening the sledge-hammer blows of an indifferent social system. The term might well be used in a much wider sense; it is practically synonymous with social adaptation—the fitting of man to his complete environment, physical and social alike. Until the present it has been the especially maladjusted individual or group who has received the service of the "straighteners." But it must be borne in mind that if they had not been straightened the burden of their ills and woes would of necessity have fallen on all the rest. Although the organic theory of society is met with skepticism today, it is true that all men are so closely connected that the maladjustments of one in the long run affect all the others. Hence progress depends to a greater extent than is sometimes realized on the amelioration of the lot of the least fortunate.

The writer does not wish to end with too optimistic a note. New conditions will bring their problems just as the old. Even if all the problems of today were solved, tomorrow would bring another set of difficulties, for which new adjustments would have to be made. But the attack on them would start from a higher level, and the preceding effort would not have been wasted.

Persian mythology and the Christian epic alike portray mankind as engaged in a perpetual warfare,—of the powers of light against those of darkness, or of good against evil. Although the supernatural aspects have been discarded by modern research, the fundamental truth remains. Man is forever engaged in warfare against the powers of nature on the one hand, and his own ignorance

and selfishness on the other. The various social adjustments portrayed in the preceding chapters are sectors in this vast campaign; minute sectors, but combined they make up a large part of the battle-front. The final victory will never be won, the battle must continue as long as man exists, but each specific adjustment is a spear-point driven into the enemy's country.

Are Social Adjustments Worth While?—Some people declare that the effort is not commensurate with the reward. The writer hardly needs to assert his emphatic dissent from this view. Poverty may not be eliminated, but it can be mitigated and in many cases prevented; unwanted children may still come, but fewer of the wanted will die in infancy; few of the present generation of little ones, and fewer still of the next, will never see the sun or the green grass because of the sins of their parents or the carelessness of their physician; and thanks to our increasing provision for free public education, more and more adapted to the needs of the individual child, thousands of boys and girls will become intelligent, responsible citizens, worthy of a free nation, instead of pawns for unscrupulous politicians. All this and much more is due to social adjustments, made by the unceasing effort and sacrifice of men and women who have neither sought nor received any recognition except their own contentment with work well-done.

To participate in some degree in such efforts is the opportunity of every man and woman. There is no task approaching this in sublimity or satisfaction.

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APPENDIX A

Note on Reference Material

The list of reference readings at the close of each chapter will give the student and teacher a fair survey of the field so far as the available material is contained in complete books. The field of social adjustment is in such a state of flux at present that many of the most important developments are to be found recorded, not in books, but in periodical literature and in special reports. With few exceptions these are not included in the foregoing lists, as the student should acquaint himself with the material as it comes out. This can be roughly classified as that contained in periodicals, annual and special reports, proceedings of conferences, and case-records.

PERIODICALS

For magazine material the *Reader's Guide* is invaluable; this lists magazine articles under appropriate headings and should be used regularly in connection with research and study of special topics.

There are certain magazines, however, dealing with various aspects of the general field, in almost every issue of which there are certain to be vital discussions of various social adjustments. While it is impossible to list them all, the following are of importance. Those which are likely to be most generally useful are marked with a star (*).

* The American Child.
The American Journal of Nursing.
* The American Journal of Public Health.
The American Journal of Sociology.
* The American Labor Legislation Review.
* Charity Organization Review (London)
Educational Review.
Industrial Psychology.
* The Family
Journal of Applied Psychology.
Journal of Social Psychology.
Journal of Educational Psychology.
Journal of Personnel Research.
* Journal of Social Hygiene.
Journal of the American Medical Association.
Journal of the National Education Association.
* Mental Hygiene.
The Nation's Health.
Pedagogical Seminary.
The Playground.
Progressive Education.
Red Cross Courier.
School Life.

School and Society.
** Social Forces.
* The Survey.
Vocational Education Magazine.
Vocational Guidance Magazine.
The Woman's Press.
The Woman Citizen.

REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

A mass of pertinent material (much of it unfortunately not in very readable form) appears in annual and special reports both of various governmental departments and of private national and local social welfare organizations. Special reports are frequently published in book form and many are referred to in the chapter references. However, interested readers should keep in touch both with current legislative action and with the work of private agencies and should see that their libraries obtain copies of reports as issued. Most of them may be had for the asking.

Such activities as center around *immigration, mental and social hygiene,* and *police systems,* and *poor relief* are continuously under investigation either by state or national governments or in some foreign country, and reports of such work are particularly valuable.

In the United States certain departments of the national government issue reports of inestimable value. First among these comes the *Bureau of the Census.* This bureau not only publishes the decennial census, but is constantly issuing special reports giving accurate statistical information regarding various social classes. The reports of the *Bureau of Immigration,* the *Children's Bureau,* the *Women's Bureau of the Department of Agriculture,* the *Bureau of Education,* the *Bureau of Labor Statistics,* and the *United States Public Health Service* are practically of equal importance.

The annual and special reports of the state and city departments of health, public welfare, prisons, charity, labor, education, etc., are also of great value for the areas covered. Reports for one's own and neighboring states ought to be available in any good library, and in addition reports for some of the states which have done the most intensive work in this field, such as Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, Ohio, and California.

PROCEEDINGS

Nearly all of the organizations named in the following appendix hold annual meetings at which papers are presented stating the latest problems and embodying the results of research. The value of these conference reports naturally varies, but many of them contain material not accessible elsewhere.

Of all the published proceedings the Annual Reports of the *National Conference of Social Work* (formerly the *National Conference of Charities and Corrections*) are the most important. These volumes are a veritable mine of information. Most of the states and even some of the larger metropolitan centers have local Conferences of Social Work whose proceedings are also

** The Magazine *Social Forces* has especially valuable book review sections.

of value. The Proceedings of the *National Probation Association,* the *Playground and Recreation Association,* the *National Tuberculosis Association,* the *Progressive Education Association,* the *National Education Association* and others, are of importance also.

CASE RECORDS

Social case records in accessible form are still comparatively rare, although the University of Chicago Press is undertaking to publish a series which will be of the utmost value to students. Two volumes

Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records by E. Abbott.
Family Welfare Work in a Metropolitan Community by S. Breckenridge.

have already appeared. These are of the greatest importance since they are complete transcripts of the records with only identifying information removed.

The Kingdom of Evil by Southard and Jarrett, *Social Pathology* by Queen and Mann, and *Social Diagnosis* by M. E. Richmond, and other books and pamphlets, contain selected summaries of records, but the complete records are more worth while for study purposes, despite the fact that they are often lengthy. Such books as those published by the University of Chicago Press could be used to advantage in connection with this book as texts for a course of study.

Best of all are actual case-records of local social agencies themselves. Unfortunately most agencies feel—and rightly—that they cannot open their files to students, but frequently arrangements can be made by teachers to secure old records of a type in which no harm would be done, which can be used for study purposes.

APPENDIX B

National Organizations

All social work organizations are more than willing to answer inquiries and to give advice to interested individuals both regarding general problems, and so far as possible regarding those in a particular locality. It has seemed worth while therefore to append to a book of this character a partial list of the more important national organizations with their present (1926) addresses, together with a brief statement of their aims and purposes. In addition the mid-monthly issue of the *Survey* publishes each month a *Directory of Social Agencies* which contains a longer statement than that given below. This list is kept up-to-date, although all agencies are not always included. The following are some of the agencies that may be of assistance:

American Birth Control League, 104 Fifth Ave., New York City.
Propaganda for broader birth-control legislation, and assistance in establishing clinics with physicians in attendance.

American Association for Family Social Work, 130 East 22nd St., New York City.
Formerly the American Association for Organizing Charity. Interested in developing family-work agencies (charity organization societies) and central councils of social agencies.

American Association of Social Workers, 130 East 22nd St., New York City.
A professional organization of social workers. Conducts a placement bureau and gives advice regarding standards of training, salaries, etc.

American Country Life Association, Rm. 1849, Grand Central Terminal, New York.
Attempts to coordinate and direct efforts toward the improvement of the human side of country life.

American Social Hygiene Association, 370 Fifth Ave., New York City.
Aids in sex education; campaigns against prostitution and venereal disease.

Boy Scouts of America, 200 Fifth Ave., New York City.
Organizes and advises regarding boy scout activities.

Child Welfare Committee of America, 730 Fifth Ave., New York City.
Interested in legislation for mothers with dependent children, and children's laws generally.

Consumer's League of America, 44 E. 23rd St., New York City.
Promotes legislation for higher standards in industry, especially for women and minors.

Child Welfare League of America—130 East 22nd St., New York City.
A league of children's agencies and institutions to improve standards.

Council of Women for Home Missions—156 Fifth Ave., New York City.
Conducts work among farm and canner migrants; and also among immigrant women. Protestant.

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America—105 E. 22nd St., New York City.
Constituted by twenty-eight Protestant bodies. Interested in race relations, research and religious social service.

Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency—50 E. 42nd St., New York City.
Interested especially in visiting teaching and psychiatry as preventives of delinquency.

National Board of Y. W. C. A.—600 Lexington Ave., New York City.
Interested in social service for women; does especially good work for foreign-speaking women.

National Child Labor Committee—215 Fourth Ave., New York City.
Studies conditions among working children and through publicity, research, and legislation, attempts to improve them.

National Committee for Mental Hygiene—370 Seventh Ave., New York City.
Studies and makes public the situation regarding the mentally defective and diseased. Makes surveys and aids local communities to meet their own problems.

National Conference of Social Work—25 East 9th St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
The annual meeting of all interested in social work in the United States and Canada. Adopts no policies but serves as a forum. Publishes annual proceedings.

National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness—370 Seventh Ave., New York City.

National Council Y. M. C. A.—347 Madison Ave., New York City.
Social Service for young men—supported by Protestants.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—70 Fifth Ave., New York City.
Propaganda and research for improved economic, political, and social standing of negroes.

National Council for Jewish Women—2109 Broadway, New York City.
Works for Jewish immigrants in United States and Canada.

National Catholic Welfare Council, Washington, D. C.
Helps to initiate and advise regarding Catholic social work activities.

National Health Council—370 Seventh Ave., New York City.
Interested in public and community health programs.

National Tuberculosis Association—370 Seventh Ave., New York City.
Directs nation-wide campaign against tuberculosis, working through state and local organizations.

National Urban League—127 East 23rd St., New York City.
For social service for negroes.

Playground and Recreation Association of America—315 Fourth Ave., New York City.
Interested in developing recreational activities under both public and private auspices.

Russell Sage Foundation—130 East 22nd St., New York City.
"For the improvement of living conditions."—Has organized departments and will render assistance in the following directions—charity organization, delinquency and penology, industrial studies, recreation, remedial loans, social legislation, statistics, surveys and exhibits. Has the most complete library of books, pamphlets, reports, etc., in the field.

In addition to the national agencies there are in many of the states well-established state-wide agencies, for example the *State Charities Aid Association* in New York, the *Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children,* etc. which are of great help in organizing work within the state. In the larger centers the older agencies are generally fairly well cognizant of the field. Where there are *Federations* and *Councils of Social Agencies,* especially the latter, their executives are probably the best informed as to the problems and needs of the community. In smaller centers and in many of the larger ones as well it is frequently the case that the general secretary of the Family Welfare Agency, which is often the oldest private social agency, is in closer touch with the civic needs along this line than any other single individual.

National bureaus such as the *Children's Bureau,* the *Women's Bureau,* etc. are often helpful in giving advice and assistance, and similar departments in the state governments even more so. In some of the cities and many counties the local department of *Public Welfare* can and does render invaluable assistance to the student and the citizen desirous of knowing something about local conditions at first hand.

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